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CONGREGATIONAL DISSENT

AS IT IS, AND AS IT OUGHT TO BE:

A LETTER

ADDRESSED TO

THE CONGREGATIONAL DISSENTERS

OF

England and Wales.



BY

JUNIUS SECUNDUS.

" We are to be concerned for this interest, not merely as the cause of a distinct party,—but of truth; honour, and liberty; and I will add, in a great measure, the cause of serious piety too."—*Dr. Doddridge.*

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ADVERTISEMENT.

It is known to many persons, that, some time ago, I published a "Letter of Rebuke and Admonition" to Dr. Campbell,—with some hints, contained, therein, for other parties. That Letter has been extensively read and favourably regarded by very many of our Denomination. Nearly two thousand copies have passed into the hands of the Public. It has been forwarded, by order, to the British Colonies. It has been read in palaces. Her Majesty's Ministers, and other members of Parliament, have perused it. And, I am happy to say, it has, to some small extent, realized my hopes. But, grievous evils remain to be corrected; and, with a view to that, I send forth the following sheets. Should not this effort succeed, it will be *probably* followed by others—laying bare men and things to an extent hardly conceivable—until reform and renovation be effected.

I have neither selfish motives nor private ends to serve by this publication. As it is directed against public abuses,—so it proceeds from public feelings, and is designed to achieve public objects. I emphatically declare my utter abhorrence of personal pique and malicious representation; and I lament, that I cannot accomplish my purpose, without a publicity which is painful to me,—without exposing things, which I would gladly conceal; but, publicity and exposure are preferable to perpetuated corruptions.

My former Letter has been deemed by some—who know not facts known to me—too personal. But, is it possible to write *impersonally* to any man, reproving, with a view to correct, his faults? His tempers, his language, his actions are personal; and, dealing with them, one is obliged to deal with him. I omitted many things which I might have inserted,—softened down others, which I might have allowed to remain as they were communicated to me,—and substituted milder adjectives for harsher,—with the hope of being less offensive. But the fact is, Rebuke and Admonition, however conveyed, can hardly be pleasing,—can hardly be otherwise than *offensive*.

But, the scurrility with which I have been assailed by Dr. Campbell exceeds all bounds; and is, I verily believe, without precedent. He has, certainly, if possible, surpassed himself. I expected his thunderbolts to fall, sooner or later, and wondered at their delay. He seems, both in praise and in abuse, to delight in extremes; and the natural vehemence of his character appears alike in administering either. The facility with which he accumulates epithets is truly amusing to a calm and philosophical man, even when he gets the benefit of them. He certainly must have a budget near him, of the strongest possible terms, into which he immerses his hand—when he wishes to bleach or to blacken, to flatter or to censure—and transfers them to his page. Truly, this *mild* and *gentle* editor has *positives*, *comparatives*, *superlatives*, and even *double superlatives*, at his command! All I need advance, in self-defence, is:—Let those who may incline to sympathize with him, in his scurrilous abuse of me, read his publications, from the commencement of his editorial manipulations; and they will, then, be competent to decide justly, whether my animadversions and strictures, upon his public doings, have been one whit too strong. It was no part of my design to return him a Roland for an Oliver; and, indeed, that would have been, in some respects, beyond my ability.

As to the charge of mendacity—so often repeated—I treat that as it merits. My pamphlet contains a bill of indictment against the gentleman sufficiently long, to admit of one item, or more, being subscribed *not proven*. The correctness of one only, so far as I know, has he publicly impugned. As soon as I became acquainted with his denial of my accuracy, in that item, I wrote to my informant, requesting *his* authority for the statement, on which I had founded my question that involved the mistake; and his answer I here give, in, as nearly as possible, his own words:—"Dr. Campbell did certainly receive £50 for writing a series of Letters, in the Patriot,—but, I find, they were against the Bill brought into Parliament to abolish burials in the London Church-yards. His chapel, in Tottenham Court Road, is burdened with a debt of £8,000, the liquidation of which depends, in some measure, upon the burial fees; and therefore, he had a personal interest in opposing the Bill, and yet accepted the £50 for writing those Letters." This was a most disinterested act! On the receipt of this revised account, I immediately inserted an advertisement in that able and popular newspaper, the "Nonconformist"—the same having been refused in the "British Banner"—to correct the error I had committed,—not in *stating*, but in *asking*, if the £50 had not been received for writing the forementioned Letters, to destroy the Bible monopoly. But, this new version of the matter will not improve the Doctor's position. Perhaps he can deny the truth of this version also? No person would rejoice more than myself, could he deny all the charges I have, directly and indirectly, alleged.

But, this editor raised a howl—re-echoed by other parties—against my pamphlet, because it was published *anonymously*. Good and simple gentlemen all! Where or how were they educated? What has been the extent of their reading? Over what fields of literature, ancient or modern, have they ranged? Have they never heard of good and useful polemical publica-

tions sent forth under a pseudonyme? Did they never in any Library see the large folios by Placcius, exhibiting a "Theatrum Anonymorum et Pseudonymorum" of the best and greatest men which the world has produced? Did they never see the "Dictionnaire des Anonymes et Pseudonymes" of Barbier, containing the titles of above twenty thousand books, in the French language, whose authors, for good and useful purposes, concealed themselves, or put on visors. Had a Dr. Campbell's imprimatur been necessary to the production of these books, the greatest works of antiquity and the most interesting half of French literature would have been suppressed, including the productions of the worthy and learned Port-Royalists, with Pascal at their head, whose Provincial Letters,—published under the assumed name of *Louis de Montalte*—which ultimately overthrew the Jesuits in France, would never have seen the light. But, if we must excuse their want of knowledge of the literature of other countries, surely they ought to have some notion of the literature of their own country! Have they never heard of Martin Mar Prelate? Has not the famous pamphlet by Smectymnus, written by five of our chief Divines of the Commonwealth, and in defence of which Milton wrote his "Apology for Smectymnus;" nor Dr. Bentley's answer to Collins,—nor Sir Walter Scott's Letters of Malachi Malagrowther,—nor the Rev. Sydney Smith's Letters of Peter Plymley,—fallen in their way? Have they never seen Jethro, nor the Letters in the Patriot, in favour of intramural interments? Did they never remark, that the critiques of our reviews, the majority of papers in magazines, the principal part of the articles in newspapers, are anonymous? Nay, has it never occurred to them, that many of the writings of the Christian Fathers were issued anonymously, and that most of the books even of the Bible are entirely without a name? Let these learned gentlemen cease their howl, to inform their minds! It might have struck them, that persons of shrewd intelligence should regard the subject-matter of a work, rather than its authorship; and

inquire not,—Who wrote it? but,—Are its contents true? Will it not be well to read and ponder the book? May it not contain an infallible recipe for some fatal epidemic, or a panacea for certain social evils? And, may not an author write ably, mean well, and do good, by a publication; and yet wish, from modesty, or prudence, to conceal his real name? Alas, the vociferous declaimers against all anonymous Letters and Pamphlets would appear as unreflecting, as they are uninformed! But, they are not what they affect to be. Like many other persons, they “see and approve of better things, and follow worse.” They know, that there is a silly prejudice against publishing works—however excellent—anonynously; and they have availed themselves of that prejudice, to discredit my “Letter of Rebuke and Admonition.”

Dr. Campbell proclaims to the world—boastfully proclaims—that he never reads anonymous Letters. Strange, that he should be perfectly cognizant of their contents, without reading them! This is a *ruse*, I suspect,—they are read *to* him! And as to those which are published, other parties read them *for* him. Suppose a munificent member of one of his congregations intimated to him, anonymously, his intention of bequeathing to him £1000, or an attached friend warned him, anonymously, of mischief designed against him; on the principle of never reading anonymous communications, he would pass over the important contents, and throw the nameless document into the fire! In the plenitude of his self-sufficiency, he may despise the wisdom of the ancients equally with that of the moderns. Did he never read the maxim of Ovid: *Fas est et ab hoste docere?*”

I owe an apology for this long episodal digression concerning a former publication: but, as many persons are likely to read the following pages, who read that small work, and are aware of the abuse it has received, and the alleged grounds of that abuse, I thought it necessary to add some of the foregoing

paragraphs. We may all regret the necessity for this controversy : but, let it be borne in mind,—I was not the aggressor,—what I have written is strictly defensive,—and controversy is often the only means of eliciting truth and establishing innocence, of exposing corruption and bringing about purity.

JUNIUS SECUNDUS.

Note to the above.—While this sheet is passing through the press, I have received another proof of the combination now existing, to keep you in the dark on certain points propounded in the following pages. An advertisement announcing the publication of this pamphlet has been refused admission into the Evangelical Magazine ! Is it not obvious, that, if the power of the old Star-Chamber—under which our ancestors groaned—were in the hands of some of our modern editors, my writings would be entirely suppressed,—and I, the author of them, visited with pains and penalties ? And yet, they contain nothing but wholesome truths and indisputable facts. On this account it is, they are so terrific to the parties I assail. Although attempts have been made to attack my writings, no one argument has been fairly met ; and *two* facts only, amongst *many others*, have been contradicted ;—one of which I have shown above, is essentially correct, with a slight alteration of circumstances, which only makes the matter worse for my opponent ; and the other—relating to Mr. Tidman—shall receive due attention, and prove me exonerated from blame, in my next publication. Had I seen the British Quarterly, in time, my vindication should have appeared in this edition of my Letter. It is a maxim with me,—if I have “*wronged any man, to restore him four-fold.*”

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INDIVIDUAL DESPOTISM DANGEROUS TO
PUBLIC LIBERTY.

A LETTER OF REBUKE AND ADMONITION, addressed
to DR. CAMPBELL, Editor of the "British Banner;" occasioned
by his Violent Attacks on the Distributers and the Receivers of the
English Regium Donum, on the Wesleyan Methodists, and on other
Religious Denominations. By JUNIUS SECUNDUS.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

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ticises deserves; a better-timed publication could not have been issued."—
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"His 'rebuken' is as personal as it well can be without personalities. This
youngest Junius does not carry the poisoned dagger of his great prototype, but
wears the rapier of a gentleman. It is a very vigorous and polished challenge
for what the writer considers public misdemeanors. The style is not antithetic and
caustic like that of the elder Junius,—but flowing, sparkling, and pungent: and
the animus of the whole appears to be that of restrained indignation arising from
an honest sense of injury inflicted."—*Watchman*.

A LETTER,

&c.

FIRST DIVISION.

General and Introductory Observations.

RESPECTED BRETHREN,

I HAVE never felt more painfully my position, nor have I ever been conscious of a heavier responsibility, than at this moment, when about to address you, on affairs affecting vitally our character and interests as a Religious Community. Let not my humble abilities—for I have no high pretensions as a practised scribe—prejudice the important case which I will open to you, and for your verdict, with simplicity and fidelity:—let not the grievous subjects of my statement offend you; for, be pleased to remember, the knowledge of an evil is necessary to its removal:—and, let not my assumed name deter you from a cool, candid, and patient consideration of what I shall advance,—since there may be weighty reasons for the concealment of an author's personal identity,—and truth is truth, and fact is fact, by whomsoever related. Although unknown to you, I am one of yourselves; and possess an equal stake with you, in the preservation, extension, and growing prosperity of the sacred cause, which has descended to us from our illustrious ancestors. But, indeed, I will not permit myself to fear, that a faithful and friendly appeal can be made in vain to Nonconformists, touching things of the highest moment, and deeply affecting themselves and their affairs, as a Christian Denomination.

I am greatly fortified in my undertaking—an undertaking, the execution of which is likely to expose me to unmerited hatred and unmeasurable abuse—by my knowledge of the persons I address. You are, generally, shrewd and deliberative, capable and accustomed to think and decide for yourselves, in all matters pertaining to religion. Your noble origin, your

historic fame, and your relative position—no less than your scriptural principles and your sacred maxims—render this, in you, appropriate, beautiful, and even necessary. It is not your wont, to take things for granted, nor to confound things that differ, nor to tolerate things that are wrong. You are, in religion, ultra-protestants and radical-reformers. You profess to have no sympathy with corruption, nor fellowship with oppression, nor toleration for those who uphold and practise them. I beseech you, then, regard with seriousness and earnestness, what I shall adduce, while I touch themes of lofty and yet sad import,—on a due attention to which, on your part, depends our future welfare.

You well know, that people often degenerate in proportion as they recede from their origin; or, that, if they flourish for a time, they, ere long, sink into degeneracy. This is the case with individuals, with families, with religious societies, as well as with nations. And you know, too, that all human wisdom is liable to err, and human motive to be selfish, and human power to be abused:—that the best institutions become decrepit and effete, if not carefully managed and guarded, and new blood replenish the old veins:—that, when men get the public purse into their hands, they are often reckless of expense,—and are hardly ever so careful of the funds at their disposal, as of their own private resources:—that when things get wrong, it is frequently necessary to resort to vigorous and disagreeable measures to set them right:—that bodies of men dare do, what the individuals composing them, on their own separate responsibility, would shrink from doing:—and that consistency—or the harmony of action with profession—is a thing most difficult to preserve.—All these points are plain and patent—and of axiomatic truth and force—with observing, thinking, practical persons.

For nearly twenty years have certain evils, of exceeding damaging tendency, been springing up, and acquiring force and offensiveness, amongst us, as a Christian Community. London was the hot-bed that generated them; and in London have they been fostered, till they have grown, at length, to a gigantic, disgusting, affrighting stature and aspect. By no language, at my command, can I exaggerate the mischievous nature and tendency

of these evils. But, by a strange fatuity, some of our people have beheld the birth and growth of these monsters with joyous satisfaction, just as the Trojans beheld the wooden horse, which the Greeks introduced to their city: others have not perceived their true character and drift; and, therefore, although unconscious of satisfaction at beholding them, have felt no alarm: others, Capys-like, of quicker apprehension and sounder judgment, have perceived both, and deprecated their presence and promised benefits: while, comparatively few have possessed moral courage enough publicly to denounce them, and to insist upon their repudiation.

These evils—so many active principles of injury—to expose and counterwork which is the chief object of the following pages—are operating our hurt, in a way and to an extent little understood throughout the country. Some want capacity, some opportunity, and some inclination to penetrate them. The progress of their operation is slow and sure. If much of the mischief is palpable, much is latent; and the whole is enormous and frightful. What! to have anything taking the lead amongst us—absorbing our attention and engrossing our energies—as of paramount importance,—which subordinates to itself a concern for the diffusion of the truth and grace of the gospel, a personal conformity to Christ, and an unreserved devotedness to his service?—to have our minds debauched and our spirituality of character destroyed, by political and secular agitations and influences?—to have a grovelling and grasping selfishness creeping upon certain of our public functionaries?—to have a furiously hostile bearing maintained towards other Christian bodies,—with all eyes averted from us, as persons of horrible aspects?—to have our fame tarnished, our influence diminished, and our only true greatness prostrated to the dust?—to have our pecuniary means of usefulness at home and abroad, collected as charity from our pockets—and from the pockets of our poor members—prodigally expended, or uselessly applied?—to be placed under a crushing despotism of editors and secretaries, with just suspicions awakened of an intended denominational enslavement from ambitious and selfish brethren?—to have dissension and strife promoted amongst ourselves,—thus dissolving a union more vital and valuable than can be found in any external com-

bination or confederacy ? Surely, here is an aggravation of evils—active evils—that may well arouse our indignation and resentment, as well as our fears. We are already a house divided against itself,—a commonwealth riven into opposite parties,—a religious community resolved into two elements of antipathy and repulsion. And as the result—there is always a sequence in these things—we are becoming the scoff of the worldly and profane, who love to “have a fling” at religion; the ridicule of our hereditary enemies, who would rejoice at the extinction or the paralysis of *dissent*; and the pity of the really pious and pacific of all other Christian people, who delight to contemplate the becoming and beautiful object, of “brethren dwelling together in unity.”

I have rebuked and admonished some of the leading authors of these ruinous evils, and the vehement abettors of others : but, alas ! I fear, as yet, to little purpose. They do not seem accessible to appeal, on matters touching their own conduct and interests. Corrective measures have no salutary influence for them. They do not, like most wise men, receive suggestive hints, and melt under the reflections they produce. They are exasperated to frenzy, but not humbled into contrition; and think me an agent of Satan, instigated to torment and afflict them,—and not an instrument of Providence, to do them good. They appear to me like some restless animals, which sport in mischievous gambols; and which no person can attempt to restrain, without being bitten, kicked, or otherwise maltreated. I abandon them, therefore, as utterly incorrigible. I know, it is the part of philosophy, to believe all things not unreasonable, and to hope all things not impossible : but, I can neither believe nor hope, that any measures of mine, unaided by others, will work a renovation and conversion in them. I know, too, it is the duty of religion, to endeavour to set people right when they are wrong,—to disabuse them of delusions,—to correct their exuberances,—to reduce them to sobriety of mind and conduct : but, religion itself must despair of effecting its benevolent purpose, when such persons close their eyes against friendly epistles, as if they were documents from insidious enemies, to draw them into a snare ; shut their ears against wholesome counsels, as if they were Syrens’ songs, to lure them to their ruin ; and repulse

from them benevolent men, who would do them good service, and are not hostile to them, but only to their methods of hostility towards other persons. And, what is remarkable, these other persons have never injured them,—are altogether unconnected with them, except by the bond of a common profession,—and are as much beyond the sphere of their legitimate interference, as the inhabitants of some distant planet.

One of these gentlemen was, in fact, unknown to me, except through the medium of his friends and his writings; and from both, I had learned enough to convince me, that to arrest his public course, or to modify his official conduct, as an editor, might be a benefit to himself, and would certainly prove a social blessing. I made a vigorous effort to that effect,—which, although it has not proved altogether abortive, has not fully realized my ardent desire. I find now, to attempt to reason with him, farther, is useless; merely to altercation with him is beside my object; to challenge him to open combat, and to measure my strength with his, on some polemic arena, would be the direct method of terminating his career: but, I have an instinctive dislike of publicity, of ostentation, of display! And, besides, he has a pack of curs at his command, only too happy to obey his bidding; and, although they could not devour, they might annoy, me, during the strife,—and would ever after run through the country yelping, and barking, and making all kinds of ugly noises at the mention of my name. And, indeed, I have not appropriate weapons, of a certain kind, for successful conflict with this “Champion against all comers,”—since, I am not in the habit of using the language of Scrubs,—nor do I intend to doff my pretensions, to graduate at Billingsgate or St. Giles’s. And, to do this new “Champion” justice, he has one weapon, often used in certain courts, and in other less dignified places, which he wields—without point or polish—with superior dexterity:—here, I admit my inability to contend with him,—here, there must be great imparity between us.

It has been said—how justly I know not—that a few more Bishops of Exeter would speedily settle the question of our State Church,—would bring it to ruin. But, I do know, that a few more such “champions” as Dr. Campbell would soon extinguish all that is most valuable in Congregational Dissent;—and

our Institutions, throughout the country, would be little else than the melancholy memorials of departed greatness. In truth, this Dr. Campbell and his manikins are prosecuting the work of demolition with surprising expertness ; and a few years of his labours—with the conjoint efforts of his friends—for he is an energetic man—will supply the place, and effect the destruction, of many hands. If I understand this hero rightly—I have made him and other heroes my study for a long period—his resolve is for “ war,”—for “ everlasting ” war. Nor is this resolve of yesterday, but of long date : nor is it likely to be soon abandoned, —for war seems his element, necessary to his being and bliss : nor has he delayed to act upon it,—for he has been long warring : nor has he failed to show us, with what temper he intends to prosecute this strife,—what are his weapons,—who are his enemies,—the objects he purposes to accomplish. That he has been raised to the exalted rank of *Generalissimo* of his party is beyond dispute,—like another Agamemnon, elected commander-in-chief, although not of Grecian forces, nor with a view to the destruction of Troy. We are, as a community, indirectly connected with this chieftain ; some of our dearest interests have been—without our consent—committed to his charge ; we are involved with him—to some extent—in the strife he has raised ; and much, for us, depends upon the issues of his conduct. It would be for our satisfaction, could we assure ourselves, that his spirit would be always benevolent,—his instruments, hard arguments and soft words,—his foes—the objects of his attacks—the common enemies of humanity and of scriptural truth and piety,—his stratagems, those of honourable and Christian warfare,—and the fruits of his victories, unity, peace, and happiness.

Now, I beg to tell you, candidly and forcibly—and with the voice of warning :—I—with many others—have no faith in the generalship of this gentleman. He is not deficient in abilities of a certain order ; but, he lacks—as well as those officials leagued with him—other and higher qualities, necessary to fit him to conduct a great religious crusade against all kinds of Turks and Saracens. I have attempted to dissuade him from all further attempts at leadership ;—I have even employed gentle force, to induce him to relinquish it ;—I have sounded an alarm, to influence others to forsake his ranks : but, as yet, my success

has been but partial. I now raise a more general and thrilling cry, to avert, if possible, the dangers which threaten us,—and which are really imminent. How far the echoes of this cry may reach, what feelings it will awaken, the practical results likely to issue from it, are, at present, matters of speculation; but, not so, the necessity and propriety of it. The adage has it,—“prevention is better than cure.” We have already allowed things to proceed too far, under the notion of supposed prospective advantages. Delusion may be pleasing; but, it is often dangerous. There has been long too much feverish feeling amongst us—occasioned by stimulants supplied by the platform and the press—producing a bewildering intoxication, which has disqualified us for clear sight and cool reflection; and hence, the present posture of our affairs. Let us endeavour to shake off this frenzying affection. As yet, our case is not hopeless,—but delay may bring us to the verge of hopelessness; and, then, it may require a century to undo the mischiefs of a few years.

I put it to you,—to every intelligent and pious man who may read what I write:—What shall we be, with the independency of our churches virtually broken down,—but a formal confederacy, without internal cohesion and harmony,—a mock presbyterianism, with more than the evils, and none of the benefits, of a real one? What, with the spirit of meekness and forbearance exorcised,—but a proud, fierce, dictatorial people,—repulsing all others, and repulsive to all others? What, with our catholic love lost,—but a small-hearted, bigoted, selfish sect,—having no sympathy with other Christian communities, no complacency in their prosperity, no toleration for their existence? What, with brotherly kindness and mutual delicacy of sentiment amongst ourselves lost,—but, a community of wasps sticking our stings into one another,—devouring one another? What, without entire freedom of expression and action, under the guidance of Christian wisdom and feeling,—but a company of serfs, enslaved by a knot of editors and secretaries, with their abettors, forming a centralized power, in Blomfield Street, London? What, with a high spiritual and devotional character exchanged for another, of a more political and secular complexion,—but, a body of degenerate religionists, who had taken the step from the sublime to the ridiculous? What, cast into

the mould which Dr. Campbell and his coadjutors are preparing for us, and into which, he and they pant to place us,—but a Death's-head, of frightful conformation and appearance? Be assured, we are in danger of all this, and far more than all this. Prophetic shadows begin to fall upon our brightest places; ominous marks of latent disease—a wasting, deadly cancer—are dimly visible over our most vital parts; certain noises are faintly heard, like the moanings of subterranean winds, which presage destruction to some of our best interests. Without a change for the better—a change of men and of measures—our ruin is merely a question of time.

I am not a person of weak nerves, of disturbing fancies, of foreboding habit of mind, of feelings “steeped in sombre hues;” but, embracing something of the past with the present, I have painful apprehensions about the future of our history. We are approaching a fearful crisis; our position is perilous; our case is urgent. I have no alternative, but to turn to you, respected Friends. And could I beseech you, with the feeling and force of Iphigenia, when pleading for her life, I would do so,—to arrest the progress of mischief-producing men; to become a breakwater against the prevalence of the evils I am about to describe; to replace us in a situation of security and peace. If you sympathize with me, respond to my appeal, and lend me your aid, we will eventually destroy that power of selfish persons and reckless writers, which, otherwise, will destroy us. The destruction of their power will be our salvation. But, if you will not sympathize, and respond, and aid—and these men be permitted to proceed from bad to worse, and things to take their course—the result can be neither doubtful nor distant. And imitating Aristides, in his last words to the Athenians, before he quitted their city for exile, I say to you, with all the gravity and emphasis I can command:—*May you never know the day, which shall force you to remember Junius Secundus!*

SECOND DIVISION.

*A Comparative Estimate of the Past and Present
Congregational Ministers of London.*

“Comparisons are odious,” is a trite remark, often involving much untruth. Their character depends upon the circumstances under which they are made,—the motive from which they proceed,—and the purpose for which they are designed. If I compare two seasons, to show the inferior warmth and vegetable productiveness of the latter, viewed with the former; or, if I compare two nations, to show that one is far below the other in civilization and refinement; or, if I compare two generations of men, to show that the past exceeded, in bodily stature and mental vigour, the present:—in no one of these instances is there necessarily anything odious or invidious. Comparison—which means a likeness in quality, but a difference in degree—is resorted to, for the purpose of illustration; and, as the great Locke says,—“If we will rightly estimate what we call good and evil, we shall find it lies much in comparison.” Hence, I wish to draw your attention to what our ministers were *once*, and to what they are *now*—especially in the Metropolis—to prove to you, that if, in a long series of years, they have increased in number, they have, albeit, deteriorated in qualifications.

That men are so generally anxious to know and record their ancestors, must be referred to some common principle in the human mind. Nations inquire after their founders, to obtain honour for themselves, as well as to pay homage to their memories. Families preserve records of their genealogies, to perpetuate their own fame; and view with peculiar satisfaction, their crest or their scutcheon. And, it is the highest boast of individuals, that they have descended from some hero, or patriot, or philosopher, or martyr. And, if, by a fiction of our imagination, we seem to have lived in our forefathers;—by every feeling of self-esteem, the noble and virtuous principles of our forefathers should live in us,—should be reproduced in our character and life.

As a religious Denomination, our *origin* is much to us. And we ought to be thankful, that we have descended from a “celes-

tial nobility,"—that we inherit the principles of men, who were the true ideal of the moral sublime,—that we follow, in an unbroken succession, champions for liberty and martyrs for religion. No weak credulity, nor unreasoning fanaticism, nor ignorant and crotchety inventions begat our peculiarities or our party. And, whatever cloud overshadowed them, or storm beat upon them, for a season, our ecclesiastical ancestors must be ranked amongst the greatest men and the best benefactors of their country. And, if it may be assumed, that no country besides—all things considered—ever produced such men,—it may be affirmed, that no men ever more exalted and served their country. Their own honours have accumulated, and their fame has brightened, with revolving years. Statesmen have long since acknowledged their principles; senators have often grown eloquent in their praises; poets have learnt and delighted to sing, and historians to record, their mighty struggles and deep sufferings; and good men, of all parties, must ever admire their profound piety and moral heroism. Think of the Puritans, who resisted arbitrary power, and combated for freedom, in Church and State, to the death!—of the noble army of Non-conformists, who endured the loss of all things, as well as encountered heart-rending persecutions, for conscience' sake!—of the calm and dignified Dissenters, who pursued, with the meekness of wisdom, and the firmness of unflinching fidelity, their onward course, stemming the torrent of scepticism and profligacy in the land; and commanding the respect and admiration of men, who had no sympathy with either their piety or their party!

Most of these were men of large and comprehensive minds,—of profound and various erudition,—of deep and fervent piety,—of scrupulous conscientiousness, grave deportment, and saintly bearing,—of great self-denial and unceasing pains and prayers,—of liberal and catholic sentiments and dispositions. They were, in fact, giants in intellect and learning, able critics in the sacred languages, well read in history, philosophy, and theology,—of an unearthly cast of character and conduct. They thoroughly understood the principles of civil and religious freedom,—and fairly and fully conceded to others, what they claimed, as an inalienable right, for themselves. They contended for what they

believed to be the truth of God,—but, not with carnal weapons. They consecrated and commended their cause, by a Christ-like spirit and behaviour. The writings and biographies of many of these distinguished men still live, to tell the tale of their greatness and their goodness;—and will ever live, to procure for them a niche in the temple of patriots, philanthropists, scholars, saints, ministers, and martyrs. They created an epoch in the liberty, the piety, and the religious literature of the nation. Neale and other historians have tabulated these men on the pages of their invaluable histories;—by which, they have erected a monument to their memory, more durable and beautiful than marble or brass.

I take up these histories, in hours of leisure, and dwell upon their pages, as upon the pages of no other human records; and they always seem new, always charm, always inform and invigorate my mind, always enliven and improve my heart. They exhibit a succession of men, originals in mind and character; and equals to whom, in all respects, had probably never appeared in this country. They were men of highly intellectual and meditative temperament. They seem to have traversed the whole circle of secular and sacred literature,—and to have imported knowledge, wholesale, from every accessible source. Their theology and religion—drawn from no stagnant creeds of human authority, nor floating traditions of ages of ignorance and superstition, but directly from the fountains of inspiration, and the grace of the spiritual life—were endowed with the bloom of a perennial youth, with the vigour of an undecaying manhood. Their high-souled integrity would quail before no threats, would yield to no blandishments; and could be neither frightened, nor seduced, from its steadfastness. Their application, in their studies, must have been characterized by intense earnestness, and untiring diligence, as their numerous and elaborate writings—our richest treasures—prove. The fervour of their public devotions, and the energy and eloquence of their pulpit discourses, must have been of electrical power and effect. They aimed to lead their hearers to the footstool of Infinite Mercy, through the Great Mediator, with true devotional feeling,—to indoctrinate their minds with the precious truths of the gospel,—to teach them to think, by placing before them matters worthy

of their thoughts. And, if they were, occasionally, prolix in their prayers, or sermons, it was not the prolixity of inane repetitions and diluted wordiness. They were wholly given to the work of their sacred calling,—were neither hired editors, nor mercenary secretaries; and, therefore, they could, habitually, read, and think, and write, to fit them for its solemn and responsible duties. And, as their dwellings were houses of prayer and praise, and their families were well-instructed in the principles and obligations of religion,—they sought to conform the abodes and families of their hearers to their own. They secured ample time for pastoral visitations, as well as for pulpit preparations; and, when they quitted their richly-stored libraries, for the habitations of their flocks,—it was to perform, from house to house, in right earnest, the interesting functions of their pastorate. No common and trifling themes,—no profitless gossiping,—no idle chitchat occupied them; they proceeded, at once, to feel the pulse of spiritual life in their flocks,—to comfort the afflicted, aged, dying,—to resolve doubts for the perplexed,—to catechise the youth,—and to urge upon all, the immediate and supreme care of their souls. No wonder, the pleasure of the Lord prospered in their hands!

In short,—these historians—too little read and known!—place before us examples of self-denial, of disinterestedness, of devotedness, of laborious efforts, most extraordinary. With these men, self was neither the theme nor the idol:—they disregarded themselves—with all that the term properly comprehends—to contemplate, love, and serve their Great Master. Their souls were imbathed in a spirit of devotion,—the sweet odours of which were everywhere diffused. They lost much by their nonconformity,—and sought not to repair the loss by ingenious expedients and artful manœuvres;—they coveted no man's, nor society's, silver and gold. And those of them, who had property, contributed freely towards their needy brethren; and remitted assistance to poor ministers, in other lands. They were instant, in season and out of season, in serving God and the highest interests of their fellow-creatures,—in saving souls from death. But, the consistency and catholicity of these men demand our special notice,—since, they make up the completeness of their

character, and prove them to have been Christians at all times, in all things, under all circumstances.

Having been cast out from the Established Church, or having refused to enter it, these splendid men suffered much, long, variously, on that account, from civil and ecclesiastical authorities; and, it would be absurd to suppose, they approved, or could approve, of the State-Church, after the Restoration or the Revolution: but, it does not appear, that they entertained an *abhorrence* of state-support for religion; and there is a remarkable absence, in their writings, as a whole—from whatever motive—of malignant hatred and rancorous abuse of this Church. They resigned their livings, or they would not accept preferment, because they would not commit perjury, nor practise falsehood: but, many of them long hoped for such a reform in the Established Religion, as would admit of their comprehension, as ministers. They did not approve of many things in the “Service-Book,”—how could they? but, they did not deny, that they who used it, might worship God acceptably. They did not believe in any mysterious efficacy in the Sacraments of this Church,—nor approve the methods of administering them, therein,—but, they held them to be of Divine obligation, and strictly observed them in their own way. They conscientiously objected to the orders of the ministry, in the Establishment;—but, they respected many, who sustained them,—and maintained friendly intercourse with all grades of clergymen, from curates to archbishops. Like one of old, their sternness was only for principles,—they had no harshness for men. But, mark their decision! When they erected Meeting-houses, they did not imitate the Parish-Church style of architecture,—nor select the most expensive mediæval style. When they set up their separate worship, they did not introduce the book of “Common-Prayer,” as a form of devotion. When they raised their songs of praise,—they did not *chant* their hymns and psalms. When their children asked,—“What mean these things?”—they took special care, that the reasons of their peculiarities should be well explained and impressed. And, when their sons wished to become Christian ministers,—they did not send them—nor passively acquiesce in their going—to Oxford or Cambridge, to qualify for episcopal ordination and State-Church ministrations.

They would not spend their money, nor lavish their smiles, upon their sons, in such places, and for such purposes. Everything, with them, was an affair of principle,—of conscience; and human nature motives, selfish ends and interests, worldly compliances, carnal expedients, seem to have had no place in their bosoms, calculations, aims. The beauties of their character were not artificial tintings,—were even more than rainbow hues.

Behold the picture! But, where will you find a counterpart to it,—a copy? Are our present ministers, generally, like these men,—their equals? Direct your thoughts to London, in which, it may be presumed, the best specimens exist! Do the congregational ministers and pastors of that city and its suburbs unite in themselves the various, deep, beautiful, necessary excellences, personal and professional, of these admired and venerated Fathers of Dissent? Do they mirror back or forth their image? What! those *grave* gentlemen, who can pun as well as they can pray and preach? Or, those *learned* teachers, who never sat on a college-form,—or, if they did, have forgotten all they ever learnt?—Or, those *profound* thinkers, whose chief readings are in newspapers, magazines, and tracts?—Or, those *studious* ministers, who live out of their studies—who could carry their entire stock of books upon their backs, with less labour than Æneas bore his father out of Troy,—and whose “dry-as-dust manuscripts” are mere “paper stupidities,” next to worthless? Or, those *high-minded* editors, who endeavour to write down every party and person that does not cry them up,—and pour their caustics upon the *dead* and the living? Or, those *conscientious* reviewers, who publish estimates of books they have never read, or form their estimates from party and personal feeling, or pronounce verdicts as it may suit their interests?—Or, those *unselfish* secretaries, who adroitly grasp as many offices and salaries as lie in their way, and resist all counsel and entreaty to resign them, or some of them, to other hands?—Or, those *noble-souled* men, who profess to be admirers and advocates of freedom,—and yet, combine amongst themselves, and ask other persons to join the combination, to extinguish free-discussion?—Or, those *scrupulously diligent* pastors, who make their sermons by magic, and pay their pastoral visitations by proxy, that they may pass their time in public offices, and in

secular services?—Or, those *consistent, Dissenting* ministers, who send their sons to the old universities, or support them there, in whole or in part, as future clergymen of the state-church, with money drawn from Nonconformists' pockets?—Or, those *zealous* separatists, who build pseudo-churches, pray through the Prayer-Book, and *dramatize* their thanks givings? Here is another picture,—but, how unlike the former!

Unquestionably—and freely and gladly do I state it—there are men—of our college-tutors, and of our ministers and pastors, in and about London—who would lose nothing, by being placed in juxta-position with many of the forementioned distinguished men,—taking any generation of them: but, as a whole, they are far below their standard, cannot sustain a comparison with them, are unworthy to be their successors. As well may we view the present inhabitants of Greece, with the Greeks in the days of Pericles,—or the present Italians, with the ancient Romans,—or the present Spaniards, with the Spanish nation under Ferdinand and Isabella,—as to compare the present London Congregational ministers and pastors, with those of former ages. There is, just now, a sad dearth of able and attractive Congregational ministers in London; and it would be a kind Providence, that should send thither, from the country, a few of that order. Mere ordinary men can do only ordinary things,—since, no cause can produce an effect greater than itself. In the Metropolis, we should have ministers of more than common-place qualifications for their office. If we would make progress there, we must meet intelligence, with intelligence,—learning, with learning,—and earnestness, with earnestness. For want of this, some of our places of worship have been closed, or disposed of to other parties, or are thinly attended, or are occupied by congregations of a humbler class. I blame not men for involuntary and unavoidable inferiority, as I would not for the circumstances of their birth and breeding; but, they are blameable for the neglect of self-culture,—for self-satisfaction, in ignorance,—for self-importance, with littleness,—for affecting to be what they are not,—for attempting to occupy superior positions, without a superior natural and acquired fitness.

Walking along the streets of London, on the Lord's-day, and feeling it necessary to attend some Christian sanctuary, and

having a decided preference for the mode of Nonconformists' worship—for which I may be excused—I wend my way towards one Meeting-house or another,—some of them, time hallowed buildings! But, alas! what pigmies of preachers, viewed with the mighty men, who once officiated in some of the city pulpits of these people!—where are the *cranes*? What mediocrists, lamps of dim light, minor prophets, at best! What make-believe sermons! Why, these men mesmerize their hearers, by words without ideas; or, by words and ideas, without earnestness and animation:—they have none of the sublimity and poetry of their profession. Ah! what successors of the scholarly Divines—the eloquent and energetic men—who once poured out their enriching stores—enunciated their brilliant and emphatic addresses—in these edifices! Here are seers without inspiration,—Elishas, without the mantles of the Elijahs,—persons, who could not have succeeded at the bar, on the stage, or in the senate:—what took them to the pulpit? No wonder, people do not throng these places of worship, and little real good is effected!

Or, it may be, that, to inhale a purer air, I wander into the suburban districts—enter this or that more recently built *Chapel*; and, with some important exceptions, I find things no better in them. Alas! what performers are these preachers,—and what performances are their homilies! What vapid stuff, acting upon the mind and moral feelings, like certain liquids upon the stomach! Or, what a mixture of the political with the religious,—as if it were a part of the gospel ministration, to settle the state-affairs of nations! Or, what conceits and technicalities — antinomian monstrosities — producing a peculiar smile of satisfaction upon the countenances of the hearers, corresponding with that on the face of the minister! Or, what mystical reveries, sombre and senseless—which few could penetrate,—and which, if penetrated, would yield no edification! Or, what vehement dogmatisms, as if the preacher had just returned from Rome, laden with the infallible dicta of some Pope! Or, what tawdry finery of verbiage, as if an importation direct, from a rag-fair for sermons! Or, what wordy emptiness, as if facts and arguments are not necessary to convince and persuade! Or, what pious chatterings, dinning the ear and

confusing the mind, but conveying nothing of value, in the form of instruction and impression ! Or, what a long yarn of commonplaces,—spun out with as much self-complacency, as if the most charming novelties ! One man appeals to the feelings—he is a feeling preacher—as if his hearers had no understandings ! Another aims to deposit something in the head—he is a kind of an intellectual preacher—as if the people in the pews had no passions ! A third reads a sermon, which moves neither head nor heart ! A fourth delivers a memoriter plagiary-discourse—his habit—which displays more power of memory, than professional honesty ! A fifth begins with a whisper and winds up with a roar,—and, during more than one precious hour, illustrates nothing, proves nothing ! A sixth seems to speak without premeditation,—and talks absolute nonsense ! And so of many others.

I retire from witnessing these sacred dramatic exhibitions, disgusted, or dejected, or ill-satisfied ; I moralize on such maladaptations of means to ends ; and I am tempted to despair of Congregational Nonconformity ever inclosing within its pale a large proportion of the vast population of London and its immediate neighbourhoods. During the subsequent week-days—for it is difficult to rid myself of all recollections and impressions of the sabbaths—I involuntarily mutter :—“ Well, these are the ‘ *metropolitan ministers*,’ who laud themselves as such !—these are amongst the men who affect to be our ‘ *leaders*,’ and are on the committees that manage our public societies !—some of these are the *deputed* gentlemen, who sweep the provinces for money, and—after partaking of their generous kindness—return to ‘ *town*’ to sneer at ‘ *country ministers* !’ ” But, I chide myself for uncharitableness,—supposing, that I, only or chiefly, am to blame ;—till, at length, I find other persons, who share my views and feelings. I embrace, thenceforth, opportunities, as they arise, to investigate the causes of these pulpit failures,—why such men occupy such posts, or occupy them so badly ; and—after encountering some difficulty in eliciting information—I am told something like the following :—“ Our minister has not received educational advantages :”—or, “ Our minister is almost a chartist in politics :”—or, “ Our minister is a sound man, but rather high in sentiment :”—or, “ Our minister is of a

gloomy cast of mind, and his head is often in the clouds :”—or, “ Our minister is a warm man, and exceedingly positive :”—or, “ Our minister is very partial to poetry, and, frequently, gives us long quotations from certain favourite authors of his, which, with anecdotes, form a large portion of his sermons :”—or, “ Our minister has been long with us ; and, as he makes no new sermons, his old ones are stale even to his own mind :”—or, “ Our minister has been a missionary, and has never thoroughly recovered from the debilitating effects of a foreign climate.” But, it is more commonly said :—“ Our London ministers are much engaged during the week, as editors, secretaries, agents,—in committees, or on platforms ; and have not the time, they ought to have, to read, think, and prepare for their pulpits. And as to pastoral visitations, we seldom enjoy such luxuries,—we do not look for them,—*a few only of the more wealthy get them.*”

Now, here are faithful descriptions,—sample portraits—pictures taken from the life,—a few out of many ! And how different are these ministers from those depicted above ? These are talking gentlemen ; and yet, they talk without art : they are partial to “ the business of religion ;” and yet, they manage it very badly : they are active, not meditative, men ; and yet, their actions evince thought of a certain kind, and for certain purposes : they are surprisingly *disinterested* ; and yet, they seize whatever “ loaves and fishes” they can get. I should like to be informed, what proportion of their time, they pass in their studies ; whether they can analyse, with any degree of ability, or at all, the original texts of the Bible ; how much they know of philosophy and history ; what their competency may be, to meet the sceptic on the ground of evidence, and the Puseyite on the ground of ecclesiastical antiquity ; the number of visits they pay, every week, to the back streets, alleys, courts, in the immediate neighbourhoods of their places of worship. As to German thought, literature, criticism,—these are beyond their reach and wish,—and ignorance of these, they deem bliss ! Besides, *Doctor Campbell* does not patronize any such German wares,—*for which, a good and sufficient reason might be assigned !*

These are “ *our London ministers,*” “ *our Metropolitans,*”

" *our Leaders!*" But, are they the men for the times? Are they fitted to ward off the imminent dangers which threaten this country? Are they the persons to occupy the high places of Dissent,—and to take the van in reviving and extending our Congregationalism? True, we can neither remove nor improve them,—cannot—agreeably with our avowed principles—justly interfere with them." But, we may admire them less, as our representatives,—trust them less, as conductors of our public affairs,—diminish their power to injure us, by ceasing to patronize their violent and abusive publications,—restrain them from enriching themselves at our cost, by withholding our cash from the several charitable institutions for which they plead. Busy, bustling, blustering men are these,—of ardent temperament and many-coloured fancies, ambitious of power and rule, avid of office and gain; but, of comparatively small abilities, narrow minds, superficial knowledge, feeble practical sense; and, therefore, incompetent *demiurgi*,—better fitted to follow than to lead. Amongst these men, Doctor Campbell is king—a king of dwarfs—himself no dwarf, in some respects, I admit. He serves their ends; and they *anoint* and crown him. Let us hope, that his chaplet is not composed of *evergreens!*

THIRD DIVISION.

*Are the Claims of certain London Congregational Ministers,
to be our Leaders, just?*

Unfortunately for the world and the church, metropolitan pretensions and demands are of ancient date; and I may add, too, metropolitan tyrannies and oppressions. It is well known, that Athens enslaved Greece, when Greece was aiming to enslave the world; that Rome became the despotic mistress of her conquered provinces; and, that Paris, at this day, rules the departments. The reasons of this ascendancy are concealed in no mystery. The metropolis of a country is the seat of government, the residence of the court, the fountain of preferment, the focus of wealth. It may, therefore, be supposed—with human nature what it is—that the chief city will possess paramount influence. But London is not, altogether, to Great Britain,

what Athens was to Greece, Rome to the provinces, and Paris is to the departments.

Ecclesiastical history reviewed,—what is the tale of metropolitan claims? Just what they have ever been in other respects. The majority of men are ever liable to be imposed upon by a false glare,—to be deluded by show,—to be duped by circumstances. And, thus, things perfectly harmless, and even commendable, in themselves, at first—the respect for heroes and saints for example—have, from their tendency, from undue importance being attached to them, and undue advantage taken of them, become positively injurious. The pastors of the chief cities—in the early days of Christianity—were often made presidents of provincial assemblies. There may have been a propriety in this, from superior age or abilities: but, in process of time, that which had been conceded, as a matter of courtesy or policy, was demanded as a matter of right; and the right was enforced, by pleading the example. Hence arose,—in the two ancient and leading divisions of the Christian community, eastern and western,—the authoritative and imposing titles of *Patriarch* and *Pope*; the one, borne by the chief pastor of Constantinople,—the other, by the chief pastor of Rome. And how and for what ends, the priority and pre-eminence, implied in these titles, have been exercised, most persons of education and reading know. Never was tyranny more despotic and exacting, than metropolitan priestly tyranny; and never did tyranny embrace so widely, in its iron grasp, the church, the world, or individual man. In fact, it became absolute, throughout nominally Christian nations; and was assumed to be the source of all spiritual authority, all grace, all holiness, all salvation for both worlds.

The Protestant Reformation swept away much of this assumed authority—and the exercise of it—wherever the reformed religion was firmly established; and priestly power, generally, was broken down, and priestly pride abased. Protestant Germany, Switzerland, France, the Netherlands, Scotland abolished the official distinctions of supreme and subordinate amongst their ministers of religion; and, thus, threw off the incubus of metropolitan superiority and denomination. Amongst the Episcopalians of England alone—of all the reformed churches—was even the

shadow of the thing, I believe, retained. The early Nonconformists, of this country, followed the example of the more rigid reformers of other countries ; and the various bodies of Protestant Dissenters have taken the same course. I hardly need inform you, that Congregationalism, or Independency—as the term itself teaches—admits of no official grades—of no superior and inferior ranks—amongst its ministers. Its fundamental maxim, in this matter, is:—“ One is your Master, even Christ ; and all ye are brethren.” And, as in the domestic relation, all children are on an equality, except from years or personal excellences ; so here, priority and pre-eminence can arise only from superior age, or other qualities. This is a beautiful order—like every thing appointed by Christ—and, it is as kind as beautiful, since it shows the honour which our Lord has put upon the meanest of his faithful ministers,—while it tends to restrain the ambitious, and to encourage the timid.

But, in the teeth of these facts—in defiance of them—there are in London, at this time—besides several learned tutors and able pastors—some Congregational ministers, who have acquired for themselves the *sobriquet* of “ Metropolitans ;” and who, with unwarranted airs, describe themselves the “ *leaders*” of their brethren—clerical and laical—throughout England and Wales. They claim to be *leaders* because they are *Metropolitans* ; and fancy themselves, as important and necessary to us, as was Jason to the Argonauts, or Ulysses to his companions, or Xenophon to the ten thousand Greeks. Seized and tickled by such a fancy, it is quite becoming them to suppose, that we cannot do without them ; that they are the brain of our intelligence and the arm of our power, if not the heart of our devotion ; that they ought to lead, and we to follow ; that they have a right to command, and we an obligation to obey.

These gentlemen have discovered—and profited by the discovery—that there is much in a good position,—that presence is power. Head-quarters have made them *something*, and given them *more*. Some of them form the committees of our London colleges,—and exact from the students no partial subjection :—compose our Public Boards, and exercise an authority, in some instances, repugnant to all our notions of genuine liberty :—form into cliques, struggle to fix their own men in vacant offices,

and aspire to distribute the patronage of our metropolitan churches:—occupy platforms, at public gatherings, declaim with vehement dogmatism, and often denounce, with bitter censures, all who differ with them, or dispute their usurped prerogatives:—engross, as occasional supplies, numerous pulpits; and thus exclude our embryo ministers from those sabbath services, which used to prepare them the better for stated ministerial functions:—command a small portion of the public press, and employ that engine of power, to exalt themselves or to abase others, to defend or to attack, as may be agreeable to their feelings or convenient to their interests:—take wing, and fly hither or thither, to mingle in some religious *mêlée*, and become arbiters in other people's disputes:—select the Directors of our Missionary Societies, and re-elect themselves as secretaries or sub-secretaries, and dispose of the charitable funds:—appoint deputations, or go as such themselves, to visit the provinces to collect cash for charitable purposes; and, while doing so, enjoy health-giving and bliss-inspiring excursions, and get well fed and well paid for their pleasurable and profitable services. In short, these gentlemen—our self-appointed leaders—possess surprising facilities—because they are Metropolitans—for helping their favourites, or themselves, to many good things,—including offices, salaries, and even pensions! Truly, “the lines are fallen to them in pleasant places, and they have a goodly heritage!” Be assured, this is neither a caricature, nor an exaggeration, of these remarkable men. Who would not reside in London? It is the Goshen, the very Eden, of Dissenting ministers! Hie away thither, ye Brethren of the country, if you wish to emerge from obscurity and poverty! Who can tell, what fine fortune may befall you? Why not you, as well as others?

In a day of general agitation, like the present, we can hardly be stagnant; and, as movement is the cry of all parties, we ought not to be stationary. There is an infecting sympathy in certain states of society, religious as well as political. We have imbibed the infection of the present state of society, in these kingdoms, and in other parts of the world; and, henceforth, we must be about something unusual,—be driving at some new object,—be taking some fresh onward step. In truth, it is time to bestir ourselves, as we have not yet done,—and, to aim at

making attainments, not yet attempted. We are all agreed, as to the necessity of action,—of persevering, progressive action; our only difference is the tendency of our movements, and the temper with which we should make them. We may need some parties, therefore, to take the initiative, and to conduct the van, in the march of improvement. But, they must be persons whom it will become us to honour and trust, for their superior and approved disinterestedness and prudence. If we must give honour to whom honour is due,—the men to be honoured should possess qualities to deserve our respect and reverence. And, if we must, in resigning important interests into their hands, confide in them, they should, at least, be above suspicion,—be worthy of our confidence. They may have many admirable properties of head and heart,—and yet, be unfit to undertake and conduct an important enterprise. Public men, who manage the affairs of the Public—and, especially, religious affairs—should be pre-eminently adapted for the work in public estimation.

Well, then, have the gentlemen, who *tell* us, they are our *leaders*, established their claims, on this ground, to the leadership they have appropriated? Let it be conceded, that all such leaders should have more than place of residence, more than self-sufficiency and self-vaunting, more than the *prestige* of a mere conceit, more than the cheer of interested parties, to recommend them; that they should be of an admitted superiority over all the persons to be led by them; and that their past conduct should be regarded as a guarantee for their future well-doing:—and this will enable us to test the claims of the *leaders* under consideration, before we concur in their appointment, and invest them with office. Are they persons of acknowledged pre-eminent piety? I do not call in question the sincerity and truthfulness of their religious character; but, I have not heard of their pre-eminent sanctity. Are they men of pre-eminent erudition? They may have learning, as persons in a besieged city have bread,—that is, each a modicum; but more, I suspect, cannot be ascribed to them. Are they men of pre-eminent mental capacity, of penetrating genius, quick and long sighted? I have never, hitherto, received proofs of their remarkable practical sagacity. Are they men of pre-eminent powers of oratory?

They are of bold front, "spendthrifts of their tongues," apt at phrase-making, can sometimes be pathetic to tears, and seldom fail in colouring; but, to thrill, convince, persuade, by powerful arguments and sparkling eloquence, is hardly within the reach of their ability. Are they men of pre-eminent disinterestedness? Would they—although well off in the world—devote their time and attention to our concerns, without a profitable return to their own pockets? Would they work for us, without ample remuneration? Depend upon it—like most other functionaries—if they have one eye upon our interests, they have the other upon their own;—and with the loss of their pay, the charm of their work would cease. Are they men of pre-eminent attachment to Independency—the Independency of Doctors Owen, Manton, Watts, Doddridge, Bogue, Winter, and Pye Smith—and rather than abandon or exchange it for Presbytery, would throw up any leadership, with all its advantages? Then are they singularly inconsistent, or I have failed to interpret their preferences and tendencies. Are they men of pre-eminent peacefulness and catholicity of spirit,—anxious to effect great public ends, by methods as quiet and kind as practicable? The reverse is the fact, if their conduct may be taken as an index of their tempers. What was said of the ancient Dorians is not altogether inapplicable to them:—"They are cruel to their enemies, harsh to their dependents, and selfish to their friends!"

These are not the men to lead us,—they cannot guide themselves. As there may be pride, without dignity; so may there be self-importance, without intrinsic excellence,—and office-bearing, without official adaptation. I know not what charter or patent these gentlemen have obtained, for the office they have undertaken, without our solicitation;—and, certainly, with the disapprobation of not a few of us,—probably the majority. Their office of leadership is entirely, I believe, self-imposed; they have taken it upon themselves, without our request or consent, formally signified, or signified at all, by intelligible signs; and in opposition to many expressive tokens of our displeasure. We hear nothing of the ambitious aspirings of the Lancashire, or the Yorkshire, congregational ministers, to become the leaders of their brethren; although, in each county, about equally numerous,—and some of them as far superior to these

London gentlemen, in reality, as *they* are to all others in their own fancy. Their claim, be it remembered, rests upon locality,—they are “*Metropolitans* ;” they can walk along Cheapside, take a turn in the Parks, enjoy an airing on the Thames, look in at the King’s Head now and then, see the Lord Mayor’s Show once a year, kiss the Queen’s hand on proper occasions, and visit Blomfield Street at pleasure ! Happy “*Metropolitans* !” Who would not share their joys ? And yet, these are but a few drops from their chalice of bliss ?

But who and what, in simple truth, are these strutting, bouncing, noisy gentlemen, who possess so many sweet things, and have proclaimed themselves our *leaders* ? There may be some persons, in the country, who would wish to make their acquaintance. What a pity, they have not written their biographies ; or that some competent person has not given us a few sketches of their early life, their educational course, and their professional career ! They have not been without good fortune ; but, their misfortune is,—they are dissatisfied with moderate things,—with an appropriate position. They will walk on stilts, in the hope of being noticed and admired :—they will ride hobbies,—and we know all about the riding of such gentry, when they become equestrians : they will be at the top,—and we are not ignorant, how men, who have always been at the bottom, are affected when they reach giddy heights :—they will lead,—and assume that, whether right or wrong, we ought to follow them, even into a ditch. They always pretend to be running straight-a-head ; but, alas ! we perceive, their direct course is often along crooked ways. Of these men may be said, what is sometimes said of certain animals swimming down a stream,—the more rapidly they proceed, the sooner will they destroy themselves.

The fact is,—nearly all these famous men are unknown to fame :—their past career has no inspiring associations : whatever personal, specific gravity they possess, their names have no weight : they have many peculiar distinctions ; but, they are distinguished by none of the great qualities, on which we are wont to set value in *leaders*. In the work they are effecting, or attempting to effect, they are only ordinary workmen converted into masters : or, in the course they are steering, they are only

land-lubbers, who have seized the helm : or, in the war they are waging, they are only subalterns exalted into chieftains : or, in the *leadership* they have assumed, they are only followers, who have stolen a march upon their betters, and intruded into the front. Some of them have already broken down under other leaderships,—have become bankrupts of office ; and most of them have discovered peculiarities—each in his way—of one kind or another, which discredit them as competent and safe guides for us in present circumstances.

Men placed in high and responsible offices—to conduct important public affairs, in times of uncommon excitement, and in the face of great difficulties—should be of no common cast. We do not require, in such men, Utopian qualifications, which cannot be found ; nor transcendental properties, beyond what are necessary to give them superior fitness : but surely, they should be persons, whose abilities, tempers, tendencies command admiration, inspire confidence, and conciliate co-operation and support. And, if this be indispensable in secular affairs, it must be so, too, in religious concerns. Half-educated, narrow-minded persons are unfit for *leaders* of religious communities or societies,—they cannot generalize, and take large views of men and things. Vehement, irascible persons are unfit,—they are liable to say and do rash and offensive things, which alienate friends and create enemies. Selfish persons are unfit,—they are likely to make every thing yield to their own advantage. Conceited, dogmatical persons are unfit,—they cannot act with others, nor be counselled. Indolent persons are unfit,—things will languish in their hands. Bigoted persons are unfit,—they will not sympathise, nor live in peace, with other parties. Inconsistent persons are unfit,—they will prove unsteady and unsafe. Extreme persons are unfit,—since the middle path, in every thing, is likely to be the right one, and most free from danger. And, certainly, persons of ordinary piety and zeal are unfit,—for they will want the exalted motives, the sublime enthusiasm, and the moral tact of their enterprise. Here are indicated, what sort of men our *leaders* should be :—well-educated, and large-minded,—cool and forbearing,—disinterested and unselfish,—candid and open to conviction,—active and devoted,—kind and catholic,—firm and

uniform, — moderate and prudent, — eminently devout and Christ-like.

Now, if, according to modern ideas and aspirations, a vast work is to be done amongst us and by us, we must have men to lead of superior mould—of unquestionable adaptation for their office; a class of men, to whom we can look up with admiration, and to follow whom will be an honour. We have important interests at stake,—and we must not place them in feeble hands: we have great objects to achieve, with slender means,—and we must not permit these means to be wasted, nor frittered away:—we have a character to preserve,—and self-installed men, *designating themselves* our representatives and guides, must not tarnish the reputation we have inherited from a long and honourable ancestry:—we have liberties to retain, as well as to extend,—and we must have men, who thoroughly understand, love, and exemplify liberal principles, and breathe generous impulses towards their brethren, and towards their neighbours:—we have an impression to make upon our age, which shall be deep and lasting,—and our *leaders* must be impressive persons, known and felt to be such. We have never been contemptible, and we ought not to become ridiculous. Let us, then, seek men of superior intelligence; possessed of unfailing self-command; remarkable for foresight and prudent zeal; of firm and disinterested purpose; conciliatory, not irritating; bland, not boisterous; speaking the truth in love; and pursuing their objects diligently and peaceably, as Patriots, Nonconformists and Christians. With *such* leaders, our affairs will be placed in safe hands; we shall have no just cause for our present apprehensions and disquietudes; and, our future course will be calm, dignified, progressive, prosperous, and triumphant. I have my mental eye, while I write this, upon many of our ministers, in London and in the provinces, who unite in themselves, more or less, all these high endowments and capabilities; and who, like myself, are dissatisfied with the present posture of our affairs, and alarmed at the prospects before us. It is only for us to signify our request, and they will speedily be at our service. The sooner, then, we do this the better: for what can we hope—nay, what must we not fear,—from our present “*leaders*,” when the learned and lovable

Dr. Pye Smith asks of the man who leads them,—“ *Must we not fear for the hero's sanity?*”—and complains of the “ *cruel injustice*” this hero has done him ?*

FOURTH DIVISION.

Should our Metropolitan Leaders be Pluralists?

Pluralities are often bad things, and produce bad effects. We read of a plurality of gods, of a plurality of wives, of a plurality of “ *livings*,” and of a plurality of offices and emoluments. All these are evils; but, the last is the worst. The first may excite our pity towards the man who believes in it; the second, our disgust at the man who prefers it; the third, our displeasure for the man who possesses it: but, the fourth must kindle our indignation towards the man, who, voluntarily and unnecessarily, loads himself with it. Excuses and extenuations have been pleaded for the three first; but, none of any force, to my apprehension, can be urged, or even conceived, for the last. A polytheist may be honest in his belief; a polygamist may be virtuous, according to his ideas, in his practices; a church-dignitary may offer a powerful defence of his holdings: but, a monopolist of incompatible offices, with onerous duties, from the sheer desire of clutching the rewards of these offices—of enriching himself—is, I think, without public honour, virtue, or defence.

Let us suppose a statesman holding several public offices, and receiving ample pay for each! For example, he shall be Home Secretary of State,—Secretary to the Colonies;—Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief,—and Secretary to the Treasury! Could he justly pretend to fill all these offices?—to occupy them with advantage to each department?—to be the superintending and directing genius of each? Would the nation bear such a profligate distribution of patronage,—such a shameful monopoly of place and pay? Would they not demand the impeachment of the minister, who appointed or sanctioned it? Or, suppose a Government *employé*, clerk of the Admiralty,—clerk of the Board of Works,—clerk of Chelsea Hospital; and in the receipt of a handsome salary for each clerkship! Could

* See Dr. Pye Smith's recent “ *Vindication, &c.*,” pages 6 and 22.

he be an efficient clerk of any one of them? And would such a prostitution of public offices and moneys be tolerated by the public? Or, suppose a clever man of business proposed himself to the respectable firms of Messrs. Hunter, on the Pavement, and Messrs. Day and Martin, of Holborn, as the general superintendent and active manager of both their establishments, at a salary of £500 a-year from the one house, and of £300 a-year from the other:—would they listen to his proposals for one minute? And, if by some chance, he got into their mutual employment—for such purposes and on such terms—would they not, on discovering the fact of the double engagement, dismiss him immediately?

Now, here are three practical views of pluralities, showing instances of persons attempting to fill several offices of dissimilar duties under one employer, and several offices of opposite duties under different employers. Will the pretensions of these persons bear the sifting of a sound logic? or, their conduct the test of a correct moral rule? Could the secretary adequately perform his duties, and justly earn his salaries? Could the clerk? Could the superintendent and manager? Certainly not,—the thing—in each case—would be physically, mentally, if not morally, impossible. As it is a law of matter, that one body can be but in one place at one and the same time; so is it a law of mind, that no attention, by the same person, can be given to opposite subjects at one and the same time. And then, how natural it is to carry the *con amore* with us into one service, which we cannot command for a *second*, a *third*, a *fourth*? But, suppose each of several services demanded the entire of a man,—how could the whole be performed? And suppose the pay for each service be reasonably equal to the attention required for each,—what sort of conscience must a man have, to take the whole pay for partial attention and labour bestowed? If two or three incompatible services require supreme attention; from the same individual, they cannot receive it; and the man who accepts wages for each, adequate to a fair remuneration for supreme attention to each, does what no conscientious and honourable man should do. It may be superfluous to say, that every public functionary is not a Julius Cæsar, —and that what Pliny records of his wonderful capacity for

various and simultaneous business is a gross exaggeration and a palpable absurdity. In cases of this kind, whatever is contrary to general experience must be contrary to truth.

Pluralists are even worse—more censurable—than sinecurists. The sinecurist receives money for which he does not profess to perform service at all ; whereas, the pluralist professes to do his duty for his pay—in every instance—and has recourse to clever or vulgar expedients, to blind his employer and all concerned in the business. All such persons are chargeable with sins—arising from their offices and emoluments—which most persons, with tender consciences, would wish to eschew. Is there not dishonesty in taking that which is not justly and adequately earned ? Is there not falsehood in covering the fact, that the work is imperfectly done—if done at all—and is incommensurate with the stipulated reward ? And is not covetousness, or an undue love of money, and of money-getting, the bottom feeling of their bosoms ? No man, I presume, can desire, or consent to sustain, several offices—with their onerous duties—from the sheer love of hard work and weighty responsibilities ; and, therefore, it must be from some other love. Ah ! the Canaan of their wishes and aims is the salaries ! To shift the words of the Poet from their original application :—“ The *earth* is above the *rose*” with these manifold office-bearers.

From a remote period in the history of Christianity, ambition and covetousness have been the besetting sins of too many of its ministers. To obtain power, or influence, and to turn that to the acquisition of wealth, for the aggrandizement of themselves and families, are still the disgraceful and damaging tendency of many pastors, in most Christian communities. Strange tendency this, in the representatives of Christ, the law of whose entire life was self-denial !—in the ministers of a Master, who preferred poverty, and had not where to lay his head !—in the men, who, of all others, declare, by their very profession, that the scene of their honours, riches, and joys, lies in the unseen future,—in the world beyond the stars ? And how has this tendency shown itself in these men of pretended unearthly mould and aspiration ? Why, by grasping at exclusive privileges,—by uniting in themselves several offices and emoluments,—by being, in short, gross and wicked pluralists. The history of Religion tells this melan-

choly tale—of most priesthoods. What is the essence of priestcraft—which has become a word of derision and contempt with the world—but the employment of artful expedients to obtain selfish ends, power and pelf, by such means? And does it matter one iota—as to the moral and social evil, and the mischievous effects of this tendency—whether it appear in the priests of Delphi, Popery, Protestant Episcopacy, Continental and Scotch Presbyterianism, or of Congregational Nonconformity? If there be a difference, the criminality and the injury are in proportion to the possession of light and the profession of purity.

The pluralities held by some of the clergy of the Established Church, of this country, used to be one of the favourite topics of sarcastic allusion and reproachful declamation, with Dissenting authors and orators. “Here,” said they, “is the purity of the Establishment! A Bishop, with so much a year, holding a rich living besides, *in commendam*! a college-tutor, who, in addition to his large tutorial income, has two pieces of parochial preferment! a fat Rector, with three Church livings! a proud Prebendary, who, besides his ‘golden-stall,’ has two benefices! a plump Dean, with five preferments!” Well, I have not one word to say in justification, or extenuation, of such pluralities. They are indefensible; and exist, in defiance of several Acts of Parliament, by means of that loophole called a dispensing power. They had their origin, however, to some extent, in what would appear innocent, and even commendable. Pluralities were, at first, granted to incumbents, whose livings were an insufficient means of support; or, they were bestowed upon clergymen, as a reward for superior merit. Had this always been the motive and the end of giving and receiving them, little could have been advanced to the discredit of any party; but, alas! in course of time, this motive and this end were abandoned for others. These pluralities are now amongst the things which must be discontinued,—must pass away.

But, the readers of certain Dissenting periodical publications—newspapers and magazines—may have remarked, that nothing has appeared in them, for a very long time, against the pluralities of the Established Church,—or nothing so frequently and bitterly, as in past periods. The cuckoo note has died away,—the birds have become voiceless or faint,—and the silence of

death or of feebleness has followed. Is not this passing strange? Have the Nonconformist editors been bribed by the Episcopal pluralists? Why this silence,—since, it must be admitted, that pluralities are still one of the chief assailable points of the Establishment,—and that the assailants of this Church have lost none of their rancour and vehemence? We have not to cast about long, to detect the real cause of this silent voice or abated tone :—the fact is—and let it be known throughout the length and breadth of the country—the editors and supporters of some of these publications are, *themselves*, gross pluralists,—scandalous monopolists,—and know, right well, that Churchmen could retort upon them :—“ *Why, your own hands are not clean!*”

In the following observations on this subject, I disclaim, most emphatically, all intention of ungenerous personal reflections ; but, I will “know no man after the flesh ;” and, as I have facts before me, in the conduct of public men—men employed and paid by the public—I will not be restrained by false delicacy, nor deterred by cowardly fear, from adducing some of them, for purposes of illustration. Well then, there is Mr. Tidman, with his lucrative pastorate and secretaryship, producing, perhaps, £800* a year : there is Mr. Freeman, with his editorship and secretaryship, and his twenty-six free Sabbaths, to supply wealthy congregations, yielding him, probably, £500 a year : there is Mr. Wells, with his productive pastorate and his three secretaryships, besides other crumbs of comfort, which give him about £750 a year : there is Mr. Palmer, with his richly endowed pastorate and his secretaryship, remunerating him to the tune of, perhaps, £400 a year : there is Mr. Hunt, with his handsome pastorate and his secretaryship, producing about £350 a year : there is Dr. Massie, with his secretaryship and his free sabbaths, in the receipt of nearly £400 a year : there, *till lately*, was Mr. Ainslie, with his secretaryship of £300 a year, besides his free sabbaths. Space fails me to mention some others of these privileged and careful functionaries,—a complete list may, ere long, appear. Now, will any competent person undertake to define to me, the difference, in principle, between the pluralities of these

* I qualify this sum of £800 a year, because, as I am informed, Mr. Tidman denies what one of his deacons affirms, as to the amount of his salary from his pastorate. *More of this anon!*

Dissenting ministers, and those of the clergymen alluded to above? I do not affirm that they are influenced by corrupt motives; but, here are, indisputably, offensive pluralities,—two-fold, three-fold, four-fold, held by parties, who have ever been forward to denounce pluralities when held by others not of their own order. But, I will adduce one more example, peculiarly deserving your attention :—There is Dr. Campbell—the avowed enemy of all pluralities in the Establishment, and of all endowments amongst Dissenters—with his pastorate, and his three editorships, and his free-house—an endowment attached to his Tabernacle Chapel—worth, altogether, to him £1000 a year. I do not say, that *this* gentleman's motives are wrong; but, I ask, whether London has in it a Solomon, who can distinguish the difference, in principle, between *his* pluralities, and those of his neighbour, Archdeacon Hale, which were enumerated, with no favourable comments, in the "Times" of April 24th, 1847?

No doubt, all these Dissenting ministers—as well as Dr. Hale and other clergymen of his Church—can make out a very plausible case,—can assign various reasons, why they should not relinquish their incompatible holdings, and why they should retain them,—can tell us, that their conduct is entirely conscientious; and that all, in these matters, is right between them and God. It may be so; but, I can assure them, in reply, that these pluralities of their's are, to the Congregational pastors and churches generally, what fish that has been kept some days too long is to the nostrils,—fetid and offensive. No person approves of them, except those who profit by them;—all condemn them, by a shake of the head, or a shrug of the shoulders, or more distinct and expressive methods. Whence, then, the continuance of these abominations through so many years?—Why have they not been, long since, abolished? Why is there not a general shout of indignation against them? Why are they not extinguished by the force of ten thousand voices? Many reasons may be assigned; and amongst them, these :—Our Denominational Press would be inaccessible to the opponents of these pluralities; and our public-meetings would be converted into so many bear-gardens, by protests against them. Few men have nerve enough to brave the lash, which all such protests against

our modern corruptions would bring down,—not upon the corruptions, but upon themselves. But, let us hear what the gentlemen can say for themselves.

The *secretaries* may tell us,—that they did not seek these offices,—they stood in their way; but, so, it may be said, do most temptations to evil. They may tell us,—that no other persons can be found capable of doing their work. True enough, no other persons *can* do their work, as it *should be done*. They may tell us—those who are pastors—that they can procure public expressions of satisfaction, from their churches, with their services. We do not doubt it,—since we know how such things are managed. They may tell us, that their churches raise as much money for the societies as *they* get back in salaries. But, is it for this purpose, the churches contribute their cash to the societies, and take credit to themselves on the subscription lists? They may tell us, that the committees of these societies wish a continuance of their services, and even offer an increase of wages. True,—but, *what* gentlemen appoint these *generous* Committees? and *who* are the medium between the Committees and the public? They may tell us,—they work hard for their several incomes. Who doubts it? But, all human powers are limited; and, however tasked, cannot work miracles.

The *editors*, again, may tell us,—that the religious public purchase their publications freely. That may be; but, without plurality and monopoly, how much more valuable might be their contents, and wider their circulation? A concentrated attention must produce more precious results than a divided and distracted attention. They may tell us,—that their periodicals are all designed to promote truth and piety. We are glad to hear it; but, no men have a right to do evil that good may come,—especially not, when the good can be obtained without the evil. They may tell us, that, in no other hands would their publications be so well got up, and give so much satisfaction. This is truly modest! Whether this would prove correct, or not, remains to be proved; and, certainly, the experiment of other hands, for some of them, should be instantly made. But, my answer to all these special pleadings and sophistical excuses is a short one; and I, here, render it,—and in terms not liable to misconception.

“ Gentlemen, secretaries and editors, you and we hold an important practical principle in common,—that pluralities and monopolies—in offices and emoluments—are bad things,—morally and socially bad things :—we hold you to your principle : we will not permit you—professing with us to believe this—to violate it in your own persons, and for your own ends. Besides, you condemn all such evil things, in the Established Church ;—and why do you practise them in Dissent ? Is consistency—the practical adherence to an avowed principle—nothing in public men,—whether churchmen or dissenters ?—nothing in the estimation of God ?—nothing to the honour of Christianity ?—nothing to their own self-esteem ?—nothing to others’ satisfaction and confidence ?—nothing to their present regard and their posthumous fame ?”

My respected Friends, blameable as the parties may be, who have seized—and still hold—these pluralities,—have become monopolists of places and incomes ; we shall partake of their blame if we permit things, to remain longer as they are. It is in human nature to act as they act ; it is the way of the world they take ; it is the common maxim, that people have a right to do as well as they can for themselves and families, which guides their course. But, should we tamely and tacitly sanction such conduct ? In doing so, where is our propriety ?—we profess, by our *dissent*, to have separated ourselves from all such corruptions. Where is our consistency ?—we hold these things to be wrong in our neighbours,—we condemn them in their conduct. Where is our policy ?—these things are a hindrance to the cause we wish to advance. Where is our social morality ?—these evils in our public men—and these men ministers—grieve the minds of many excellent people. Where is the necessity of our conduct ?—no justifying, nor even excusing, necessity, can be pleaded for it. I know, that bodies of men are slow to detect and correct evils in public servants,—that such evils often exist, for a long time, without correction, because what is every person’s business is the business of no person,—and that many virtuous men—from sheer timidity—are unwilling to take the initiative in a corrective course, lest their conduct should be thought invidious, or they should bring obloquy upon themselves. But, let us dismiss our false charity, our indifference, our fears, to

the winds ;—and acquit ourselves like men and Christians. There is often a point in the Divine forbearance beyond which there is no other : and there should be no point beyond with us, in relation to these gross social evils. Let us sweep away, at once and for ever, all these abominable Dissenting pluralities and monopolies, by whomsoever held, without respect of persons.

Why, the offices and salaries of the forementioned gentlemen—not to mention others—should be divided amongst twice their number. There is work enough, and support enough, for double the present *corps*. And, can it be pretended, that, out of the very many vigorous-minded ministers amongst us, who are thoroughly educated,—well-read in all branches of human knowledge,—and, withal, zealous for our principles, and are now insufficiently employed, or wretchedly supported ;—men—far superior to these functionaries—might not be found, to *share* with them, at least, their duties and incomes ? True, they have possession ; and that, we are told, is nine points of the law. And it is certain, they will not resign, without a desperate struggle to retain the good things they possess ; and may make many a *coup de main*, with their tongues and pens, upon any who attempt to force them back to single office and reward. But, by one act of your volition, by one significant expression of your mind, by one sustained determination, all that is desirable can be accomplished. That act is, to will the death of these pluralities and monopolies ; that expression is, a loud and general shout for their abolition ; and that determination is, no more to support certain societies nor to read certain publications, unless secretaryships and editorships be more wisely and justly distributed. Let us give the present functionaries to understand our purpose ; and, sooner than lose all, they will admit others to share with them what they now engross :—

“ They ’ill take suggestion, as a cat laps milk ;
 They ’ill tell the clock to any business, that
 We say, befits the hour.”

FIFTH DIVISION.

Should the Congregational Union be sanctioned and supported?

Union is a catching word, conveying a pleasing idea to the mind, and the symbol of much that is good and desirable. In a world of so much disunion—and of misery as the result—it would be well, if this term became the watchword of all parties; the idea which it conveys, the favourite idea of all classes of men; and the state which it symbolizes, the goal of all our tendencies. The union of waters composes and swells the ocean,—the union of threads makes the articles of our apparel,—the union of materials forms our houses and sanctuaries,—the union of patriots defends our hearths and altars,—and the union of hearts makes sacred friendship, the balm and sweetener of life. But, let us not be deceived by a word, whatever of euphony and charm there may be in it. Union may be, in some instances, a word of evil omen,—convey a painful image to the mind,—and be a symbol of much mischief. It may be the watchword of bad, as well as of good, men; and of good men, for bad—although mistaken—purposes. We know what the union of a mob, of thieves, or of tyrants, means; and what we may expect from it. And, when weak and narrow minded men, or rash and vehement men, or ambitious and selfish men—with a preponderance of the serpent over the dove—unite, for ends avowedly excellent, we need be careful of them. Union itself, or the thing signified, may, in that case, prove an injury rather than a benefit,—a curse rather than a blessing.

This is a day, beyond all precedent, for unions. The maxim, that union is strength, seems to have worked itself, thoroughly, into the minds and feelings of men. There is actually a union-mania abroad,—people are frantic for unions. Ah! in casting a glance over the past of our brief history, what unions can some of us not recall,—and unions, too, of disastrous results? We can recollect the union of Irishmen, to break down English rule in Ireland, and the slaughter and misery it occasioned. We can recollect a Holy Alliance, or union, ostensibly to preserve the balance of power in Europe, and to prevent the recurrence of war; but, really, to uphold arbitrary power, and to repress the

rising aspirations and struggles of patriots. Then, we had union parish-houses, to support the poor at less cost, and to check the progress of pauperism,—which has increased the amount of poor's-rates in thousands of parishes, and aggravated the nuisance it was designed to abate. Then, we beheld the union of Oxford *savans* and parish priests—called a Tractarian Society—to remodel the English Protestant Church into a quasi-Popish Institution,—by which, hundreds of persons—clergymen and laymen—went “the whole hog” towards Rome. And, in addition, we have known union trading-companies, whose mad speculations ruined thousands; union Banks, that failed, and overwhelmed whole neighbourhoods with distress; union Schools, where little was taught worth knowing; and union Chapels, in which the genius of discord presided. Union, then, is not always a *desideratum*,—nor does it always produce desirable results.

But, after all that can be said and suffered, men will unite. We are, by instinct and policy—from nature and convenience—gregarious. Isolation is gladly exchanged for association; and, it must be admitted, the fruits of fellowship are sometimes beautiful and sweet,—as well as, at other times, unsightly and bitter. This is the true philosophical view of society, of political confederacies, of commercial firms, of combinations for the promotion of the sciences and the arts, and of religious communities;—from the patriarch's family to the mighty nation, from a village conclave to the American Congress, from the individual trader to the East-India-Company, from the private student and the humble artist to the British Association and the Society of Arts, from the solitary pilgrim to the vast caravan of the desert, and from the local association to the provincial synod and the national assembly. And, certainly, taking a general view, it must be congenial—and as conducive to the common good, as to individual pleasure and improvement—for persons of similar opinions, tastes, habits, pursuits, objects, to seek and maintain intercourse. But, it is just possible, for bitter to come out of the sweet; peril to arise where all things seem to promise safety; and disastrous consequences to follow from what is good in itself, and predictive of a golden harvest. Such are men,—such their passions, prejudices, jealousies, diverse ends, rival interests,

and ambitious aspirings,—that we need to be on our guard, when there is nothing apparently to guard against.

The union of Churches—or what is the same, the confederacy of the pastors of different Churches—is no new thing in the history of our Divine religion. If we are to believe ecclesiastical records, the early Christian Churches were strictly *Congregational*,—and the pastors *equal* in rank and authority,—that is, each Christian society, in any locality, was complete in itself, was presided over by a pastor of its own choice, was managed by officers of its own appointment, and was governed by canons of its own enacting. But, synodical meetings, provincial councils, general convocations of the Christian pastors, in course of time, sprang up; and the result was—gradually indeed brought to pass—the domination of some pastors over others, and the domination of all pastors over their flocks. Hence, the superior and the inferior official grades amongst the clergy, and the prostration of the people to the priests. And, if it be asked, what destroyed the purity of the early Christian pastors, and the independency of the early Christian Churches,—historic truth compels the answer—which is beyond all controversy—the Congregational Unions of those ages. And, should it be said : —“This was the abuse of things good in themselves;” or,—“This was an accident, not necessary to these Unions;” I affirm, in defiance of contradiction—that the explicit and concurrent testimony of impartial historians authorizes the conclusion,—that there is, between all such Unions and the evils just mentioned, the connexion of cause and effect.

But how does the inference appear logical,—that, because Congregational Unions—for the ancient synods, convocations, councils were, long, nothing else—did formerly issue in what has been stated,—a Congregational Union, in our day, must lead to the same results? Is there the same sequence here, as in the inviolable laws of Nature? Must that, which *has* happened in the conduct of men,—happen *always*? Do not circumstances modify the sentiments and courses of men? Have we not the Scriptures to guide us? Are there not amongst us pious and firm-minded men, enlightened lovers of religious freedom, to assert and maintain the principles of our Denomination, in their widest extent? Would not our ablest ministers—all

our pastors—resist every encroachment upon our liberty,—reprove every suggestion of such a thing,—disown the men who should attempt it? Let us neither deceive ourselves,—nor suffer ourselves to be deceived? So reasoned others, who proved, eventually, to their cost, the fallacy of all such reasoning. Despite all their fancied security, the grievous practical evils which I have mentioned occurred,—they fell into manifold, unapprehended snares. In truth, there is an inherent tendency, in all such ecclesiastical confederacies, to become authoritative, dictatorial, and domineering. Bodies of men are composed of individuals; and these individuals take their peculiarities into these bodies, and carry them into action. Nothing wrong may be, at first, designed; but, as some members of such bodies will always be—not to say more talented—more ambitious, and less scrupulous, than others,—they are sure—sooner or later—to become their tyrants. And, if they can obtain sanction and support, these same men will extend their tyranny—not, indeed, without a mask of some kind—to all within their control. As long as human nature remains what it is—what it has ever been since the *Fall*—human nature, motives, passions, prejudices will influence most men, even in religious affairs,—and, sometimes, against their own deepest convictions, better principles, and previous purposes. If, in some things, we cannot trust ourselves,—nor be always certain what course—under new circumstances we should take,—on what principle, can we put implicit confidence in other persons, and feel assured, they will ever be consistent?

Inquiring after the origin and cause of things, the philosopher will be arrested by the fact,—that great results often arise from small beginnings. The mighty river issues from an almost imperceptible spring,—the vast forest grows from a few acorns,—a mighty nation proceeds from a few persecuted exiles,—a desolating pestilence is occasioned by the importation of a little foreign cotton,—a devouring conflagration is kindled by a spark,—a whole continent is enslaved by an accident which brings an obscure youth into notice and power. Illustrations are innumerable. The practical lesson from this! Let us never think lightly of what may seem, at first, to demand little attention,—to be a cause of no alarm,—to require no precaution:—

nor say, what danger can lie concealed in that form of things?—what evil can that event inflict?—what mischief can that man, or those men, do? Experience teaches us, that forms, events, men—apparently innocuous, and even promissory of manifold benefits—may prove the source of manifold injuries and annoyances.

Some years ago, a small knot of London ministers—taking into their counsels, perhaps, an equal number of laymen—concocted a scheme for bringing all our pastors and churches into an ecclesiastical confederacy; and for purposes, some of which, probably, were not, then, very clearly defined to their own minds. Accordingly, to work they went, to give practical effect to this scheme; and to place their ideas before the members of their own Denomination, in living forms. *Hence arose the Congregational Union of England and Wales!* And to invest their new Institution with importance in public opinion, and to procure for it public approval and support, they had recourse to expedients, as soon as convenient, which, at once, gave rise to dissatisfactions and suspicions in not a few, who beheld their movements. The *wisdom* of these men has ever since endorsed their measures. The idiosyncrasy of their “collective Majesty” has, all along, been apparent in their questionable proceedings. They have sought to dazzle us by some of their measures; but, the more dazzling, the more dangerous, and the more to be suspected and watched. When show is made a substitute for reality, it is always excessive; and in that very excess, may be detected the hollowness and deceit beneath. The planet of their prosperity, has not, however, rolled on very rapidly,—nor always exhibited benign aspects.

The two chief divinities—for there are minor ones—of these gentlemen—their Penates or Lares—are Centralization and Domination. At the altars of these favourite gods, they pay daily homage, and present willing sacrifices. To propitiate them for past neglect, and to prove the sincerity of their present repentance, are all their offerings. To honour them, advance their interests, and to bring about their triumphs, are amongst the leading business of their lives and labours. They are the devoted priests and worshippers of these vile objects of their idolatry. Awfully grim, frightful, and cruel demons, these!

And should they ever get into the Ecclesiastical Calendar of our Denomination, and obtain our service, degraded will be our condition, doleful will be our doom! From that day—that *dark* day—we may write *Anathema* upon our sanctuaries,—our truest glory will depart, a death-spirit will come over us,—and we shall be bereft of energy and of life. What of either can remain to us, with our invigorating and life-inspiring liberty lost?

Most of you know the past of this Union, or I should be happy to sketch its history; a history, however, it would be, of little else than paper and type—like some of the publications of the Unionists—in the form of dates and names, wordy and lengthy reports, pompous resolutions, vapid speeches,—altogether, a hodge-podge of peddling paragraphs, of no real and permanent value. I must borrow a little philosophy from one author, a few scraps of poetry from a second, some sentences of practical wisdom from a third, and a few pious sentimentalisms from a fourth, to blend with the mawkish materials, to make them any thing more than torpedo-rubbish. But, be pleased to understand; throughout the *unborrowed*, you would distinctly trace a selfish, centralizing tendency,—the worship of one of the forementioned divinities. The sun-flower does not more instinctively and faithfully turn towards the sun, than do these Unionists towards this demon. Centralize! Centralize! Centralize!—is their pious, pleasant pæan. For *prudent* reasons, however, this cry is much suppressed,—lest it should disturb and alarm. Cunning is often the substitute for courage; foxes can hardly do any thing, without foxish manœuvres. True, the better part of valour is discretion; and so, these discreet gentlemen raise this cry only amongst themselves,—the echoes of it must not be heard beyond the precincts of their own sanctum.

No sooner had these gentlemen engaged an office and appointed a secretary—one was enough—than they invited the concurrence and assistance of country ministers and country associations. These were necessary, to swell their numbers, “raise the wind,” and dazzle the public. Then they appointed two annual gatherings; one, vernal, in London, to allure the ministers frequenting the religious festivals in May; the other, autumnal, in some provincial town, to attract the ministers in

the regions round about,—for if people will not come to us, we must go to them. And, into the ears of these auditories, they pour self-laudating tales, or elongated speeches, of chivalrous achievements made, or to be made,—on the principle, that people can seldom hear too much of good things; or, they mutter, aloud, querulous moanings—not unaccompanied with tears by some—on account of the prevailing indifference to their objects, and the lack of men and money for their purposes; or, they utter fierce denunciations of the bitterest bigotry against other religionists, biting sarcasms for *blind* and obstinate brethren, and earnest exhortations and entreaties for *more money*.

Then, they absorbed—by hook and by crook—into their Union—sponge-like—three charitable societies,—which they had as much right to appropriate, as they had any similar institutions. The *first* was a Colonial Missionary Society—created for their purpose; as if the London Missionary Society had never sent missionaries to British colonies, or could not extend its aid to Canada and South Australia. I know the excuses urged, for not employing its aid,—but, I hold them to be light as air. The *second* was the old Home Missionary Society; to the funds of which, about 18,000*l.* had *just before* been bequeathed. Had the Society been in debt, at the time, it is more than probable, no such annexation would have been thought of: but 18,000*l.*! what a golden fleece! This appropriation was, indeed, a golden affair; but, it was not effected without a fight. A compromise, however, was come to, with the resisting parties—to their advantage—which made all straight,—except the crookedness of converting a *most catholic* institution—and on that account enriched—into a purely sectarian society! The *third* was a kind of Irish Missionary Society, which, I believe, had always worked after an Irish fashion; and was supported, to some extent, by churchmen as well as dissenters. But, it mattered not,—it must be forced into an affinity with this step-mother, whose maw seemed insatiable. Now, will any one inform us—competent to do it—what has been the amount of loss to the funds—if not to the efficiency—of these societies—or to two of them—by this unfortunate affiliation? I should like to see this question resolved.

Then issued the successive publications of this Union! Here

is a “ Congregational *Confession of Faith*” for the whole community, as if it had not been long known—by all who felt an interest in knowing it—what are the doctrinal sentiments, generally, of our Denomination. But, mark ye!—this *Confession of Faith* is put forth by men, who secede from all public formularies of faith,—who hold, that man is accountable to God alone for his religious opinions,—and who detest and abuse subscriptions to all creeds of human composition! What right has any man, or number of men, to string together a number of dogmas, and publish them to the world, as the faith of their neighbours, simply because these neighbours happen to adopt the same ecclesiastical polity with themselves? Away with all such creed making! The Church of Christ has never profited—nor has his religion been served—by such manufactures. The New Testament is our best and safest creed. Here is a “ Congregational Hymn-Book” for us, which we may use with, or without, Doctor Watts’s famous composures! I demand,—whence the necessity for such a book? We had too many of the sort before! Why create a further diversity in our psalmody? But, I take up a copy of the first edition of this book; and, in that, I perceive some of the finest poetical compositions on religion extant, shamefully mutilated and disfigured! I will have nothing to do with the compilation of men, who can dare to use such freedom with other men’s writings. Here are “ Congregational Lectures” for us! These, we are told, are designed to prove the learning and abilities of our ministers, and to promote the literature of our people! They are to prove, then, what no rational man can doubt, as to some who minister amongst us,—with the writings of Doctors Pye Smith, Wardlaw, Henderson, Harris, and many others, before the world. But, really, some of these volumes of Lectures are miserable failures, and possess the specific gravity of gold without its intrinsic worth,—they are heavy, but valueless. The subjects treated, with so much elaboration, remain, to the well-read and inquiring student, what they were before. But, who reads them? How many of our laymen,—nay, how many of our ministers,—have read them? Why, they are published at a Jew’s price,—as impolitic as it is unjust! And yet, I suppose, if we do not purchase them, we are either paupers or niggards!

Here is a monthly magazine called,—“The Christian Witness!” What a pity, half this title is not dropt! A “Witness,” it is; but the less said, about the “Christian” way in which it bears its testimony, the better. I do not deny, that there are, occasionally, some good and useful things in it: but, I affirm—with the work before me—that hardly a number appears, which breathes not an unchristian spirit;—which violates not the chief precept of Christianity,—the precept of universal love; which smacks not of vulgarity and bigotry. Space fails me, to notice other publications of this Union,—of little real practical value.

But, why all this,—as if restlessness were the condition of these gentlemen’s existence?—Why this Union, at all?—Why these two public gatherings in each year?—Why so many vain resolutions and tedious speeches and reports?—Why the appropriation of these three charitable societies?—Why so many publications of different sorts and sizes? *Why?* Can there be a single doubt about the *why*? To get money, to be sure,—with which, if not to fill their own pockets, to serve their other divinity, *Domination*;—to purchase authority over their brethren;—to destroy—at the suitable season—there is a time for all things—our Independency;—to obtain from posterity, as they hope, a glorious *apotheosis*. I have long suspected these Unionists of having designs upon our liberty; and my suspicions have been recently—from their own lips—converted into certainties. I will now set them against themselves, to satisfy you of the fact:—and, thus, select ornaments from their own wardrobes to adorn them;—cull garlands from their own garden-beds to perfume them; and borrow fire from their own furnaces to consume them. Liberty demands the sacrifice. Let them know—and they shall know more of it yet—a Greek can fight Greeks, to preserve the freedom of Greece!

That this Union must have appeared, from the beginning, a most suspicious and dangerous organization, to every quick-sighted and jealous lover of entire freedom of religion, I cannot doubt. Blind, or short-sighted people, indeed, may discern no danger in a stone wall, in chevaux-de-frise, or in a precipice; and there may be occasions, when it is exceedingly convenient to plead opacity, or feebleness, of the visual organs. And, really, these Unionists are such plausible gentlemen, at times,

when, to serve their purpose, they can bottle up their bigotry, ambition, selfishness, and every other low and mean passion, that the very "elect" themselves might be deceived. And, withal, such promising gentlemen are they, that it requires no ordinary sagacity and experience of human deceivings, to penetrate their artful pretexts. Why, we might be tempted to dream of a cup of sweetness from their hands, not dashed with a single bitter; of a harvest of golden apples from their labours, without the possibility of the fruit turning to dust between our fingers; of a cornucopia of blessings in their Union, never to prove, in the course of time, a Pandora's box. And, then, such braggart gentlemen are they, that shallow, or unsuspecting, persons might, without blame, deem them worthy of implicit trust; take all they say for another gospel; and believe liberty safe beneath their perennial shadow. But let us look into them a little through their own mirror.

Dr. Burder stated, in his speech, at the last May-meeting of this Union,—that, forty years ago, a vigorous attempt was made, to bring into existence a Union like the present, by the distinguished founders of the London Missionary Society; and that, with all their cordial feeling and powerful influence, they could not succeed,—because of an extreme jealousy and apprehension on the minds of many ministers and churches, lest there should be a violation of our Independency. And the good Doctor proceeded, to congratulate the Meeting, on the consolidation of *their* Union,—with a progressive deliverance from those unnecessary alarms. I have no doubt of his entire sincerity, in all he says,—of his happy freedom from all alarms,—and of his exuberant joy, as to this Union. Dear innocent gentleman! He thinks other persons like himself. He could not consistently—as the successor of Bates, Henry, and Palmer—be a party to any infringement of our Congregational liberty: but, is he among the initiated of Blomfield Street? Has he been inducted into the mysteries of that Eleusis? Have the mystagogues of that consecrated spot admitted him into their Adytum? Has he ever cordially united there, in the worship of the two most favoured divinities,—*Centralization* and *Domination*? Has he ever been taken into the confidence of the priests of these gods, and interchanged significant glances with

them, as the worship has won worshippers, and the sacred cause has seemed to progress and prosper? I judge not; and must, therefore, take the liberty of intimating to him,—that he is but half enlightened and awake. Let the following facts prove, that the objectors to the proposed Union, forty years ago, were right; and that Dr. Burder, with all like him, approving and supporting the present Union, is wrong.

What is remarkable; in that identical May-meeting, before the Doctor's speech was delivered, Mr. Parsons, the chairman, uttered the following startling, ominous words,—which leave no doubt—except in the minds of those who wish to doubt—of the designs of certain parties upon our present freedom; and warrant the conclusion, that they have contemplated and discussed some violation of our Congregational Independence. I care not for printed rules, nor public avowals,—with, perhaps, mental reservations; these are all intended for stage effect. Here are the sentences of Mr. Parsons, as reported in the British Banner:—“ *I cannot but express the hope, that we shall abide faithful to the integral Independency of our churches; and that we shall not be led astray by any theories, as to ‘ modifications’ of government, for which plausible, though, it appears to me, perilous reasons only are assigned: our Scriptural Independency is our safeguard and our glory.*” Why this hope, if he had had no cause for fear? What *theories of modifications* of our Independency does he mean? What *plausible reasons* had he heard, for these contemplated modifications, which alarmed him? Who were *the authors* of these theories of modifications? *From whom* had he heard of them? *What does all this mean?* Why, if it means anything, it is this:—the Secretaries, or other chief men, of this beneficent Union, have evil designs upon our freedom,—have suggested—if not recommended—modifications of our present Independency,—have assigned apparently plausible reasons, to justify the change,—which Mr. Parsons deems perilous, and from which he felt alarm. A pretty sequel this to Dr. Burder's felicitations!

On Thursday, June 28th last, was celebrated the fifty-seventh Anniversary of Cheshunt-College;—on which occasion, Dr. Campbell—the editor of the periodical magazines of this Union

—delivered a speech,—in which, as reported by himself, in the British Banner, occur the following secret-telling words :—
“ All we want is system : if worthy men, throughout the Churches, would take up the thing on system, we should no longer be annoyed with debt, and difficulty of a pecuniary nature. Give the Free-Church of Scotland the Nonconformity of England, with its wealth; intelligence, and multitudes, and that Church would multiply our present revenues four-fold. Want of system is the great evil of the Independency,—or rather, the great error of the Independents. I would, on no account, touch the Independence of the Churches,—but, I would unite, combine, and harness them for great enterprises. In sacred, as well as in civil, affairs, there must be some small sacrifices made for the general good. If extreme men call this Presbytery, let them,—the word is in the Scripture,—only give me the thing.”

When I read this part of Doctor Campbell's address, I could hardly accredit my own eyes for accuracy. And had I been present, when it was delivered, I should not have imitated Jenny Geddes, who threw a stool at the priest, for “ saying mass at her lug ;” but, I should, certainly, neither have *cheered* nor *laughed*. There is as much concealed as revealed, as much evaded as stated, in this passage. Bah ! Is this the way, a candid noble-minded man should put forth his views ? Is it after this fashion—this half and half method—a Doctor of Divinity should address Doctors of Divinity ? A scholar, scholars ? An honest man, honest men ? This gentleman ought to know, that there are more senses than one, in which a person may play a double game, and lose both stakes. But, as he is a vast authority with the Unionists—their oracle—their mouth-piece—supposed to be in their confidence—to speak their sentiments ;—this precious mixture, analysed, will enable us to understand the men we have to deal with,—and what will be our fate, should they succeed. Assure yourselves, I perfectly comprehend this minister and editor ;—of one party, and yet in love with two,—of one head, with preferences for opposite objects,—of one tongue, of double speech. Remark ! He would not touch our Independency, but he would have *a new system* ! What new system ? *Presbyterianism*, to be sure ! He would allow us to remain free, and yet he would unite, combine, *harness* us.

In what union, combination, *harness* would he involve us? Church-courts, certainly! For what purpose would he do this? To get more money out of our pockets,—not for himself, nor his friends, of course! What sacrifices must individual churches make for the good of all? What have we to sacrifice, but our Congregational liberty of existing and acting? And into whose hands must we surrender that,—which is so precious? Why, into the hands of him and his co-workers, to mould, direct, rule us, as, in their wisdom and goodness, they may deem best. People, he says, may call this Presbyterianism! He finds Presbyterianism in the Scriptures! “Only give him the thing,” Presbyterianism,—and all will be right,—we shall have neither *debt*, nor *difficulty*!

I have here given you Dr. Campbell’s text and my interpretations of it; and as I have no wish to misrepresent him and his co-unionists,—nor to misguide you,—I beg of you to examine closely, what he and I have advanced. But, what a Gamaliel is this Doctor of Divinity! Can he be ignorant, that if Calvin and Knox found Presbyterianism in the Scriptures,—Taylor and Hooker found Episcopacy in them,—and Owen and Manton found Independency in them? And does he not know, that if Dr. Campbell finds one order of church polity in these Inspired Records,—Dr. Blomfield finds a different one,—and Dr. Pye Smith—a better Biblical scholar than these two Doctors united—finds another, differing from both? To account for men’s biases and tastes, in after life, it is often necessary to trace their history in early years. They, frequently, *return* to what they were at *first*,—and *love that most*, when fallen into the “sear and yellow leaf” of autumn, which they loved truly, during the fresh and green leaf of spring. I know but little, at present, of the history of Doctor Campbell’s religious party, opinions, and tastes, before he settled in London; but, from some hints which have reached me, I infer—that he has transferred his ecclesiastical affections several times, and to opposite objects. It is probable,—he *first* loved Presbyterianism,—*then* Wesleyanism,—*then* Congregationalism,—*then* Calvinistic Methodism,—each sincerely, for the time, no doubt: and now, in his old age, his *first love* has returned, with all the freshness and vigour of young life. The Free-Church of Scotland seems, however, at *present*,

to be his *beau ideal* of an Ecclesiastical Community ;—to which, it is manifest, he and others—the Unionists—would conform us,—and are insidiously aiming to conform us. Every man to his taste ; and if they prefer Presbyterianism, we prefer Congregationalism, and must resist their encroachments by all lawful means. One thing is certain,—they cannot bring us into bondage, but with our own consent.

I have long kenned these gentry of the Congregational Union ; and my testimony against them—unbought and unbiassed—I here offer and urge. These men—I mean some of the “ *leaders* ”—have long shown signs of their enslaving intentions :—the insidious motions of the tiger, before he springs upon his prey ! An authoritative, controlling power—centred in themselves—of dictation, rule, exaction, is their object. I assert this, as a fact, from no gratuitous surmisings, nor floating hearsays, but, from actual knowledge, derived from a source which is beyond suspicion. They have been long “ feeling their way,” and taking preparatory measures to suit their actions to their intentions. Of these intentions and preparations, I have adduced proofs above, which, if they amount not to mathematical demonstration, possess the clearness and force of moral certainty. Receive, I pray you, my warnings of imminent danger,—and yield to my wishes and counsels of resistance ! If you, unwarily, assist the efforts of these ambitious men, or supinely permit them to proceed, our fate will be soon sealed,—and with *black* wax ; we shall be absolutely and altogether in their hands. And, as persons, possessing power, will want titles and honours ; who can tell, what new office—distinctions and modes of personal homage, they may invent and claim ? Perhaps, we shall have :—“ His Highness,” Doctor Campbell ; “ His Excellency,” Algernon Wells ; “ His Worship,” Arthur Tidman ; “ His Honour,” Doctor Massie,—and so of others ! And then, we shall be expected to kiss their toes or their hands,—to doff our hats, and to appear uncovered, in their presence,—to stand aside, when we meet them in the streets ! I have no doubt, these gentlemen, truly respectable in themselves, have, albeit, a peculiar idiosyncrasy ; and that their heads, if examined by a scientific phrenologist, would exhibit some tale-telling bumps !

Doctor Davidson — no mean authority — says of all such Unions, as is this Congregational Union :—“ *Should coarseness and clamour occupy the place of dignity and mildness, or a dictatorial spirit be assumed by petty officials, they become ecclesiastical nuisances. In proportion as they present an oracular self-importance are they to be avoided. When they usurp power, acquire riches, or manifest the spirit of councils and synods, where the clergy have ever managed all things for their own interests, neglectful of the rights of the laity, they must be reprobated as alien to the genius of our system.*” Now, can any person, of ordinary intelligence, be so blind, as not to perceive, that this able Congregational Lecturer has pronounced, in this short passage, the condemnation of this Congregational Union ? Why, this Union has in it all the elements of corruption, all the principles of mischief, all the conditions of repudiation, here mentioned. To verify this assertion, read some of its publications,—hear a few of its select speeches,—mark its temper,—watch its movements ; and you will find coarseness and clamour, instead of dignity and mildness,—the dictatorial spirit and the oracular self-importance,—the power-usurping and the money-getting tendency,—the *animus*, if not the exact language, of ancient councils and synods. The living, breathing, speaking, moving soul of this Union is a low and vulgar ambition of power and money ; and of money, in order to power. In proportion to the money gathered in, will be the power possessed and exercised. *Annuities* and *gratuities* are the magic means, by which we are likely to be charmed into submission,—the silken cords in which we are in danger of being bound. How can this Union be any thing else than coarse and clamorous ? Through what refining process have some of its officials passed ? As a red coat does not make a soldier,—so, neither does a black coat a gentleman and a scholar. How can it be otherwise than dictatorial and oracular ? “ Jack in office ” will always assume the same airs and play the same pranks. How can it be otherwise than power-usurping and money-loving,—when power derived from money is the very lever, by which its objects are to be effected ? How can any other spirit, than that which animates it, be displayed ;—the spirit of a proud, aspiring, sneaking, enslaving religious Oligarchy ? Why, these men conceal the purposes of

their tyranny under the mask of their charity;—they avail themselves of a few uncertain hundreds a year, derived from the sale of their small publications, to make an ostentatious display of doling out a modicum of relief to a few of their poor brethren; by which, they hope to make slaves of the whole community! Why do they not manfully, and at once, announce their preferences and intentions; and then, we should know how to deal with them and with their measures?" They who live longest, as says the adage, will see most!"

SIXTH DIVISION.

An Exposure of the Tyranny of the Congregational Periodical Press.

Of all valuable inventions, *printing* is amongst the first in importance; and, of all useful implements in man's hands, for man's benefit, the printing-press is amongst the most valuable. Happy day, when the mariner's compass first directed the ship's course along the pathless ocean?—or, when optical instruments first aided men's feeble vision!—or, when the application of steam to machinery first increased their productive and locomotive powers! But, happier day than all, when the printing-press first presented a proof-sheet to the author! Holland, the country of Erasmus and Grotius, the scene of many a righteous conflict for liberty and religion, long the asylum of persecuted exiles from other lands, gave the world the printer's art, with all its blessings.

And since then, how great have been the obligations of civilization, education, commerce, the sciences, literature, and religion, to this surpassing invention! Printing aroused the reflecting powers of the human mind from the slumbers of the middle ages; and made millions thinking, reasoning beings—men of facts and arguments—who were, before, little better than creatures of instinct merely. It gave us our schools of every kind; and multiplied, indefinitely, our means of acquiring and diffusing knowledge of every description. It gave us the Reformation; for, in vain would have been the efforts of Luther, without the invention of Faustus. It gave civilized nations and religious communities, newspapers of every form

and for every purpose,—books of every size and on every subject. It has achieved for literature, secular and sacred, three advantages of immense value, and to an astonishing extent,—*increase*, *accuracy*, and *cheapness*. By means of it, erudite, or thinking, men, who wish an acquaintance with the learning and opinions of other men of their own stamp, on any part of the globe,—or to make *them* familiar with their own,—may effect their wishes, in an incredibly brief period of time,—and with, comparatively, small labour and cost. In short, like another sun, it has poured its ample light into the intellectual darkness of almost every country; or, like another ocean, it has sent its copious waters, to fertilize and replenish the world of mind; or, like another Apocalyptic Angel, it has been long, and is now—through the medium of vast benevolent institutions—diffusing a knowledge of God and of his Christ—preaching the everlasting gospel—throughout the earth, and in the language of almost every nation. We have not yet beheld all the stupendous achievements, nor gathered in all the enriching blessings, of this wonderful art.

But, what a pity, that it should be abused by nations, or by religious sects! And, yet, like every other boon of Providence, this has been the case, in various ways, and to a shameful extent. Political demagogues abuse it, when they employ it, to diffuse their seditious sentiments, and effect their treasonable designs. Infidels abuse it, when they employ it to send forth their pestilential errors, to poison the minds and ruin the souls of men. Novelists abuse it, when they employ it, to issue their worthless lucubrations, which deceive and corrupt while they please and amuse. Religious writers, or writers on religious subjects, abuse it, when they employ it, to disseminate ignorant or false notions of truth, piety, and morality. And editors of newspapers and magazines abuse it, when they step beyond their proper province and pry into the secrets of families, or maliciously seize on the privacies of individuals, or wantonly recall from oblivion the faults of the *dead*,—to publish them to the world, to fill a nation with scandals, to tarnish the reputation or grieve the minds of excellent men.

The liberty of the press, we enjoy in this country, is one of our greatest national advantages; and is to be ascribed to our

noble constitution, and to the liberal sentiments of our leading statesmen. Not only can we travel where we please, without the nuisance of the compulsory *passport*, or the annoyance of scrutinous *gendarmes*; but, we can express our sentiments or discuss our grievances—publicly or privately, through the press or otherwise—instead of the timid taciturnity, or the significant shrug and grimace, of foreigners,—and without fear of the police and the Attorney General. This liberty has greatly increased of late years; and we have cause for thankfulness, that, like another *public Administrator of the law*,—this other gentleman—her Majesty's Attorney General—has less to do, than formerly, of a certain work. But, we must distinguish between liberty and licentiousness,—liberty, here, must have a limit. The liberty of the press supposes, that we keep within the precincts of the Constitution, within the fences of the Law, and within the pale of good manners. The most liberal governments are obliged, sometimes, to extinguish licentious newspapers, whose continued existence would be incompatible with the peace and welfare of society: the most innocent and forbearing citizens are compelled, occasionally, to invoke the aid of the law, to protect their characters from malicious newspaper libellers: and we have known instances of injured parties—for whom the law had no redress—employ unlawful means of being avenged on scribbling assailants of the press. What we mean, generally, by the freedom of the public press, is the right of the public to canvass, fairly, the conduct of public men, who are accountable to them; and public affairs, which belong to them. And, then, there is a social and moral—as well as a constitutional and legal—freedom of the press, which should be well understood and cautiously used by editors of a certain kind of periodical publications:—a freedom to discuss, with moderation and a becoming spirit, social and religious evils. But, this must not be a one-sided, partial, selfish, malicious freedom. And, if parties are attacked, they should be allowed a defence through the same medium,—at least in the form of advertisements; if charged with wrongdoings, they should be permitted to explain, on the same page,—that the persons who have read the attack, or the charge, might read, also, the vindication, or the refutation. Common

justice, Christian uprightness, and gentlemanly fairness demand this ; and where it is denied, there is the total absence of all.

Without this concession, no man, nor body of men, is safe from calumny and odium. It is only for a wealthy person, or a knot of wealthy persons, who have more money than wit, and more malice than morality, and more recklessness than prudence, to set up a Public Journal, or to bribe some venal and unscrupulous editor of a Journal already existing,—to buy him over effectually to their wishes and interests ; and that Journal might be made the vehicle of infinite mischief and misery. Our motives may be misinterpreted, our actions misconstrued, our characters misrepresented, by our enemies,—and we left without redress. Without this concession, an inquisitor may be perched in any locality, a spy sent into any family, a sentinel appointed to watch the movements of any individual, to report to these persons, or to this editor, all that can be seen, or heard, or guessed,—to be held up to the gaze of the public,—and the consequences would be fearful :—quiet localities convulsed, excellent families destroyed in their peace and respectability, and honourable men reduced to suspicion and hatred. Our familiar neighbour, our confidential servant, our professed friend—for reward, or the hope of reward—from malice, jealousy, envy, wantonness, or incaution, might, in that case, play the inquisitor, the spy, the sentinel ; and what remedy have we ? In fact, without this concession, newspapers had better be abolished, or proprietors be compelled to employ editors selected by the public authorities, or editors be required to give security for good behaviour, or a competent censor be appointed over the newspaper-press.

There is not much reason for apprehension from respectable, leading, daily Journals. The editors of such are, most probably, gentlemen and scholars,—of general and generous principles,—without meanness, petulance, and pettifogging,—who would disdain to avail themselves of their office, to bare the privacies of society, or to descend to coarse and rude personalities ;—and who would not wantonly inflict injury upon respectable individuals, or being apprised of having done so, would readily and freely make the *amende honourable*. They are not raised above the influence of temptation, nor the liability of error of judg-

ment, nor the probability of being imposed upon;—but their public conduct is likely to be in accord with their private,—and their writings will exhibit marks of dignified forbearance, of magnanimous feeling, of conventional virtue. Should such men become adversaries, they will demean themselves as noble adversaries. But, periodical publications have sprung up, and multiplied upon us, of late years, called “*religious newspapers*,” of whose editors and character, I cannot speak so favourably, as of the forementioned. I will give my humble judgment freely, on some of these. I say *some*, because, without exceptions, I should violate my deliberate convictions. And, I wish those exceptions to include one or two connected, directly or indirectly, with Congregationalists. The “Nonconformist” and the “Christian Times” appear to be excellently conducted Journals. But, thus much, I will say of all *religious newspapers*, that unless confined to convey religious information, or knowledge connected with religious subjects, they are misnamed,—their very title being a contradiction in terms;—they blend things which have no natural affinity, and which neutralize one another;—they distract the attention by a hasty and violent transition from secular to sacred subjects, and should be repudiated rather than supported.

But, to pursue my observations. Some of these *religious newspapers* are contemptible and mischievous; their contents are chiefly plagiarized;—their politics *ultra*,—their religion *exclusive*,—their spirit *violent*,—*bigotry* breathes in every page; their editors are priests, or parsons, who are, or ought to be, as unfit to conduct *newspapers*, strictly so called, as to set broken legs, or to make out conveyances. A kind of Titans these, who make war upon superior men; or Swiss mercenaries, who perform any services required, because well-paid; or birds of prey, that love to feed on the rotten parts of things,—whose appearance prognosticates calamity,—and whose scent is fœtid. In truth, these editors are not men of large, well-stored, refined, liberal minds; and their publications partake of their own littleness, emptiness, rudeness, narrowness. We want more *in* them, for our money, than paper and type. If such newspapers were multiplied tenfold, increased in bulk tenfold, and read with ten times more attention,—the world would be little the wiser or

the better for them, and the church very much the worse. There is positively nothing original and vigorous in them: although of this age, they are not up to it: they impoverish rather than enrich, enfeeble rather than invigorate our minds: exhaust our attention, without rewarding it: repeat, to *nausea*, the same commonplaces with which we have been familiar from childhood; and, often, in a style which offends. I beg to tell the editors of these works—and also the editors of some of our *monthly magazines*—that much of what appears in their publications is flimsy, trashy, empty; in words, above the reading part of our peasantry; and in matter, below the educated portion of our people. I tell them, emphatically—the editors of both *newspapers and magazines*—that, if we must have a higher standard of ministerial talent and attainment, and an improved style of preaching; we must have, too, a higher kind of religious literature. The days of *religious twattle*, from the pulpit and the press, are passing, rapidly, away; and unless these editors can assume a superior mode of thinking and writing, they may set their houses in order, to pass away with them. *We have had too much pious drivelling from these gentry!*

To vindicate this critique—which may seem severe—upon some of our weekly and monthly issues—newspapers and magazines—it is only necessary to refer to their contents. Take them up;—examine, sift, weigh their matter;—and what do they contain of positive, valuable knowledge? Their political articles are either too brief, or too diffuse,—are plagiarisms or repetitions,—and are often served up in a verbiage below their themes. They have few traces of scholarship, or of extensive reading; but are often, and for the most part, filled with matters which every person knows, or which few persons care to know, and which no person would be the better or the worse for knowing or not knowing. Repositories of literary lore, or of pithy religious thought, they are not:—they are neither “Spectators,” nor “Ramblers.” Biblical exegesis from languages, histories, travels, are rarely found in them,—as if the Scriptures were all perfectly understood, or illustrations of them should be confined to the pulpit. Philosophy never sparkles on their pages,—not even the philosophy of common things. Surely, if the readers must not be metaphysicians, they may be furnished with

the means, in their daily readings, of picking up—for their satisfaction and guidance—a few interesting facts, or practical ideas, from the material system, or wonderful world, which, for a season, they inhabit. Biographical treasures—ancient and modern—are not amongst their riches,—the past may perish ! Is it nothing to fall upon a few notices, now and then, of commanders, lawgivers, philosophers, scholars, philanthropists, holy ministers, and saintly Christians of other days ?—is nothing of worth to be gathered from an acquaintance with them ? Geographical and topographical descriptions are not amongst their contents. This is a day of unprecedented emigrations. Our people are transferring themselves, like flocks of birds, to other countries ; thousands have gone, and thousands more will go. Some of these Journals have urged their flight. And yet, the readers of these works know as little of British Colonies, as of distant worlds. Would it not be interesting and useful, to make them a present, occasionally, of a few ideas about their distances, magnitudes, soils, climates, mountains, plains, and rivers ? Are there no books on these subjects from which extracts might be made ? And then, the religion of these religious newspapers and magazines ! What do they teach of religion, and how do they teach it ? They may contain a few paragraphs from some funeral sermon for departed friends,—discussions of the dogmas of a creed,—philippics against persons or things not approved,—records of local gatherings of no general interest,—expressions of delight, at the liberality of this gentleman, or of that lady, towards some charitable institution,—bitter regrets, at the nigardliness of the religious public, and earnest cravings for more cash,—notices of books of small value,—reports of the *ins* and the *outs* of certain worthy, or worthless, missionaries :—this is about the amount of their contents,—such as they are ! But, surely, something more than all this is necessary, in the present day of increasing education and growing intelligence ! All this leaves a vacuum yet to be filled up,—a deficiency yet to be supplied.

But, these publications are *purely sectarian*. The editors— notwithstanding the repetition of the fond terms of,—“ *Our beloved brother*,” and “ *our dear friends*”—have neither sympathy, nor charity, nor even a nod of recognition for hardly any Com-

munion beyond their own. They are as exclusive as papists, and as imperious in their claims. And as to these poor papists—with churchmen, unitarians, methodists, and some others—the good Lord have mercy upon them? The mission of these hired scribes seems to be,—to extol and advance their own party, to the abasement and destruction of every other. They cannot generalize,—they have no comprehensive views,—no catholic feelings. To gain proselytes to a creed, or recommend a certain church polity,—or collect funds for a favourite society,—or advance themselves above others,—seems the thing of importance to them :—and this, we suspect, has often more of their anxiety and zeal, than to implant the fear of God in profligate minds, direct sinners to Christ, reprove sin in false professors, promote the interests of holiness in the world, illustrate the evidences of personal religion to the doubting, pour the balm of comfort into afflicted bosoms, and furnish antidotes against the fear of death for aged Christians. They place their sect before Christianity,—not Christianity before their sect. But, suppose all other sects merged in theirs,—and the whole Christian Church become Congregational :—would that prove for the real good of the Church, or for the amelioration of the world? A death-spirit would come over the whole. A stagnation would inevitably ensue, more fatal to the interests of religion and the souls of men, than stagnant air or water to their bodies. God wills and blesses diversity,—diversity is a part of his plan in his Church, as in other things. Look at the heavens, the earth, the mass of mankind, collectively or individually! do we behold uniformity in them? No; and the practical inference is,—that each Christian Community may properly seek to advance their own interests,—and yet, be glad to witness the progress of others.

These periodicals are *impudently dogmatical*. The editors assume an air of magisterial consequence,—of positivity for their opinions,—of finality for their schemes;—warranted only by an unmistaken consciousness of infallibility. They are right, and all others are wrong!—they are the lights of the world, and all others are in darkness!—they are the safe guides of men, and all other guides are leading them astray!—they are the sages of the present age, and wisdom will die with them!

If they do not *assert* this, they act as if they *believe* it. But is this Christian, rational, decent, bearable? There are bigots of all parties, and all bigots are alike. Dr. Watts has described them:—"A dogmatist in religion is not a great way off from a bigot; and is in danger of growing up to be a bloody persecutor." And a provincial reviewer, of my former Letter, has done it still better:—"These writers of the London press seem to think, now that crowns have fallen from the heads of not a few of the continental monarchs, that they ought to be placed upon the heads of certain editors, who favour us periodically with their lucubrations. And knowing, that where the word of a king is, there is power; they have made the strange mistake of pronouncing their mandates *ex cathedra*, before the popular voice has seated them on the throne, and placed the diadem upon their brow. The absurdity of the unreasoning dogmatism of such personages, as well as their coarse vituperation and offensive personalities, are severely, but justly, exposed in this spirited pamphlet. We trust, it will do something towards reforming an important portion of our periodical literature."*

These publications are *personally offensive*. They assail not only what are held to be errors,—but, also, the persons who hold them:—and they attack not only systems,—but, the individuals, too, who are attached to them. They give us the names of men, regardless of rank or condition, whether of their own Community or of other Communities, and lash them, like torrents lashing the sides of cliffs; or level them to the dust, to be trodden under foot; or hold them up as scarecrows, to be ridiculed and execrated. The ancient writers sought to reprove public characters, and to correct public abuses; but, by feigned names and covered allusions:—hence the origin of the Greek Drama. But, these modern writers—the editors of these works—administer their doses through a very different medium. They affect no concealment, exercise no delicacy, use no feigned names, employ no covered allusions. They have neither time nor inclination to cultivate the indirect and softening methods of the ancients,—nor wish to adopt them. Such methods would not suit *their* drama! They prefer "speaking out"—*not, indeed, when spoken of*—whatever pain it may inflict upon

* The Hastings and St. Leonard's News, for May 4th, 1849.

others' feelings, or blush produce upon their faces, or blot fix upon their names. Now, I submit, that, amongst good society,—this is deemed unbecoming and dishonourable. It may pass current with some classes of men,—may amuse and delight the malicious and the coarse,—but, it can meet with no favour from gentlemen, scholars, and Christians of high moral feeling. Besides, it defeats itself; produces a re-action disadvantageous to the assailants; is not taken for Christian correction, but barbaric revenge; irritates and provokes, but neither convinces nor improves. When will these gentlemen understand, that a soft, gentle, Christian method is the best, for conveying strong and unpleasant things?

These writings are *scurrilously abusive*. There is a license, a wantonness, a harshness, a vindictiveness about their mode of dealing with respectable men—men of unquestionable piety, of wealth, of high attainments, of elevated stations, and of great professional reputation—which does not bear reflection, for a moment, by any well-regulated mind. It savours of ill breeding, and argues the total absence of good feeling; it violates the conventional etiquette of highly civilized society, and is contrary to good manners. And what is of higher consideration than all,—it is opposed alike to the letter and the spirit of the gospel of Christ. That writings bearing the exalted epithet of “*religious*” should be chargeable with this, is for lamentation!

But these periodicals are *positively tyrannical*. I hold tyranny in abhorrence, as the Hydra of the world. When I was a boy in school, I found embryo tyrants there. When I went to college, I found that the sons of liberty could enslave. When I turned my attention to the history of nations, I perceived that government, in many instances, was another word for oppression. When I looked into ecclesiastical history, they placed before me martyrs for religion in every age and nation. When I went into public life, I soon detected the presence and power of the same monster. When I united with the Dissenters, it appeared that the exercise and enjoyment of freedom are not always connected with the boast and advocacy of it. “*Despotism is not always confined to crowned heads and lawn sleeves!*” True, Cæsar and Napoleon, Laud and Bonner were tyrants; but, we may, sometimes, find the counterpart of these men, in the non-commissioned officer and

the parish-priest, in the liveried beadle and the Dissenting editor or secretary. All these gentry ply their work of oppression—each in his way—according to their means. And, of all others, petty tyrants—if not the most overbearing—are the most difficult to be borne with,—especially, when we can neither rid ourselves of them, nor paralyze their power.

Will it be credited, that there are, in London, Congregational functionaries, editors and secretaries, who are banded in a league, defensive and offensive, to say and do, professionally, whatever they please? These gentlemen take counsel together, at *stated times*, in *committees*, to do everything or nothing by common consent; they act in concert; they are sanctioned and upheld by well-trained and warmly-attached allies, of both ministers and laymen; and they vow, mutually, to stand or fall together. Woe to the party—be he high or low—who happens—even accidentally and unwittingly—to incur their frown, and fall under their lash! Their power, although limited, is extensive; if not national, it is denominational,—extending to a considerable portion of a large religious community. They cannot pry very far, or minutely, into the affairs of other ecclesiastical bodies; but, they institute a sifting search into those of their own, regardless of labour and expense. They cannot convulse other religious sects,—although this has been attempted; but they can embroil their own sect. They cannot affect the ministers of other religious communities,—notwithstanding they frequently and violently attack them; but, they can exalt or abase Congregational ministers and pastors, at pleasure. They cannot close other mediums of communication against the public,—although earnest appeals have been made for this purpose; but, they do exclude from their *own* periodical publications, whatever matters may be inconvenient for *themselves* to be known. They cannot poison the minds of tens of thousands of the Independents of this country,—for they refuse to read what they write; but, they can inject their poison into the minds of other thousands, and defy the application of an antidote. Why, these men have established a *new reign of terror*! They can despatch us, too, after a *new fashion*! They have the public-press in their hands, from which they send forth large impressions of newspapers and magazines, weekly and monthly, filled with

articles of all lengths ; into which, they infuse their own fancies, prejudices, passions ; and by means of which, they can—to a wide extent—do good or evil, create or destroy, make or unmake, save or ruin ! And, withal, they lay their plans covertly, work speciously, and appear before those who read what they publish, as the fast friends of *liberty, fraternity, and equality*.

Here, then, is another dangerous organization ; another despotic ruling power ; another example of a kingdom within a kingdom, —for the subjection of the general to the particular ; another instance of a vast social machine, worked by invisible and irresponsible hands, to effect vast changes in our Denomination ; another fatal proof, that people may be enslaved by their own chains,—and these chains fabricated out of money from their own pockets. And all this is connected with the Congregational Union, and absolutely subservient to it, since some of the editors and secretaries are the paid agents of the Union, and all are members of it,—pledged to its interests. How far the existence of such a confederacy—so concealed from the public eye, and beyond public control—so independent, and wielding so large a power for right or wrong—consists with public freedom, or individual safety, few persons of penetration will be at a loss to decide. But facts shall speak for themselves ; there is no testimony like that of facts ; and facts will prove, that some of these editors—*under the direction of the secretaries*, or with their concurrence—use their pens towards those who are displeasing to either party, as an Irishman does his shillalah towards a hapless wight, who has provoked his ire ; or treat those who differ with them, and whom they dislike, as Punch treats Judy.

It is amongst the most sacred and cherished maxims of good society,—never, wantonly, to attack respectable and aged public men,—or to hold them up to public reprehension, in the decline of years, who have served, and deserved well of, the public : never to strike the feeble, who have no means of self-defence : never to wound the feelings of benefactors, from whose hands we have received manifold favours : never to dishonour the memory of the dead, who have passed to their final account, and cannot return to explain or requite : never to criminate people, without affording them an opportunity to reply. Now some of these editors—with whom moderation seems an offence,

—prudence, folly,—kindness, cowardice—have been guilty of violating all these sound and salutary maxims; exult and triumph in the course they have taken; vow to proceed in the same course; invoke all other editors to sanction and shelter them, while they perform their vows; and promise a reciprocation of similar service, should emergencies arise to require it. *These are our leaders and representatives!*

Amongst these editors, Doctor Campbell has figured the foremost. This gentleman has been long pouring out the vials of his wrath—through the columns of his “Banner” and “Witness”—upon all persons offensive to him and his friends, however excellent, and even eminent, in themselves, and esteemed in society; and he has done so lately, with more than his usual copiousness. He may not be a wicked man, nor a weak man,—I apprehend neither; but, he seems a wild man—a man of vast vehemence—from whose hands all means of mischief should be wrested, lest he injure himself and other persons. He has been, for some time, running a-muck against almost all religious parties, and against some of the most distinguished ministers of our own party; as if it had been ordained in heaven, and a commission had accordingly issued thence, that he should subject to himself all thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers,—conform to his own views and preferences all other religious communions,—and force those men amongst ourselves, who may not be of exactly his own cast, to enter his mould, and receive his impression, with all its precise lineaments. Advanced years, profound learning, superior intelligence, witching eloquence, property, piety, charity, usefulness, are considerations light as air, when opposition is offered to his sovereign pleasure! Who are the wise, and virtuous, and laborious ministers and pastors of a past or a present age, when he rises in his seat of majesty to censure and chastise? Who are the living or the *dead*—to whom, with their characters and works, all have united to award the meed of praise—but so many dwarfish forms, to sink into insignificance and contempt, when this modern Hercules—with his mighty powers and labours—comes forward upon the stage, to perform his parts in the drama of Dissent? What are pamphlets of “Rebuke and Admonition,”—however ably written, or benevolently intended, or much commended—

addressed to this Apollo of the pulpit and the press,—but so much paper and type—like some of his own writings—worthy only of instant ignition? Ah! he is too wise to be taught, too virtuous to be reproved, too courageous to be intimidated!

Now, these editors and secretaries must cease to reign;—this combination must be broken up;—this confederacy must be dissolved. Aristotle declared of the Greek tyrants:—"There is no alternative for us with these men, but ostracism or a throne." And I warn you against our tyrants of the desk and the press! We must either displace them, or teach them moderation—which I believe impossible—or submit to be enslaved by them. Their ambition has an insatiable maw; their selfishness is exclusive, and admits of no competitor nor opponent; their vehemence is that of a surcharged electricity; their pugnacity is that of a defiant gladiator;—they must have been born when Mars was in the ascendant! Their intoxication, from place, power, and money, is so great, that they are incapable of clear sight or cool reasoning,—as if Bacchus himself had placed them under a potent spell. Their object is universal and absolute dominion over all whom they can subject to their rule,—as if they were the lineal descendants of some Alexander. If we rebuke and admonish them, with the voice of a trumpet, they will not listen to us; if we transmit them a "Letter Dismissory," in the form of a "round-robin," they will not read it; if we lay hold of them, to push them from us, the cause we wish to preserve—if not ourselves—may suffer in the scuffle,—for they will never resign without "showing fight."

How, then, can we teach these gentlemen a great moral lesson, which shall reduce their pretensions and aspirings to just dimensions; or—what would be still better—divest them of the power which imperils our liberties and disturbs our peace? Something must be done, or we shall be committed to a grinding despotism; and no one can divine, to what extent it will proceed, nor how long it will last, nor who will be its first victims. The means of tuition, which I beg to recommend, is the most simple, and will prove the most effective, in the world:—it is to cease to patronize their publications, and to subscribe to their funds, till they either resign their functions, or abate their wages and amend their manners. We shall thus, withhold from them

the sinews of the war, they have been carrying on, and threaten still to prosecute; and from that day, they will become as rational, calm, pacific, and inoffensive as others,—and pass quiet and useful lives. The permanency and prosperity of our periodical literature and charitable societies do not depend upon their retention of office; and were the *requiem* of their official existence chanted to-morrow, hands as able as theirs would be speedily found, to do our work, at a less expense; and with fewer of those *peculiar love-tokens*, which they have lately lavished upon some of our best men, and may hereafter lavish upon others.

SEVENTH DIVISION.

The Management of our Missionary Societies.

That the Missionary enterprise is of God, and is pleasing to him; that it accords with his purposes, and receives his blessing; that it is for the extension of his church, and the promotion of his glory; and that it is for the highest welfare of his creatures, and the regeneration and repose of the world;—these are all matters beyond controversy, with persons religiously enlightened. The infidel may sneer, the profligate laugh, the philosopher doubt; but, the philanthropic Christian possesses a certitude, on these matters, which renders the sneer, the laugh, the doubt, censurable impudence, or pitiable folly. Christ was the first missionary, and the archetype of all others. He came to execute a commission, which angels would have attempted in vain. The animating principle of his mission was love; the conditions of it were poverty, dishonour, suffering; and the object of it, which lured him on, was salvation. The sympathies he expressed, the instructions he conveyed, the miracles he wrought, the sorrows he endured, and the blessings he bestowed, must ever exhibit him as the Prince of missionaries. And what he began in his own person, he committed to his followers to prosecute and finish;—he promising to assist them. They were to begin at Jerusalem; an intimation, perhaps, that home missions should have the priority of foreign.

Our Lord's disciples soon felt the obligation of his commission, and the inspiration of his example and grace; and

they went forth, to obey his command. They did begin at Jerusalem; but, they speedily went everywhere, "preaching the gospel of the kingdom." And well they executed their work, and gloriously they succeeded! The missionary spirit has rested upon the Church of Christ, and worked out in its members and institutions, from that time to the present. The Church has been ever seeking to make aggressions upon the world; although its object was often to proselyte, rather than to regenerate; and the means it employed to effect its end, were not always those which the gospel sanctions. If we suppose the Church has not been always of a missionary tendency, we mistake exceedingly. The religion which proclaimed the Universal Parent and universal grace,—through the Great Mediator; which brought a new form of truth to earth, and imparted a new spiritual element to man's moral nature; "which," as Eusebius says, "lightened like a sun-beam over the earth," and ran through the length and breadth of the civilized world, inviting all, and receiving and saving all who obeyed its voice;—this Divine religion has never chilled into total apathy towards man's immortal interests. The ignorance and worldliness of the Christian Church, during the "Middle Ages," may have left few signs of spiritual life; and little concern was felt, and rare and feeble were the efforts made, to impart that life to others;—but, the Roman Catholic Church—such as it was—took the lead in missions; and, perhaps, stimulated others, in later times, by its example, to attempt similar efforts.

Our more active modern Missionary Societies came into existence towards the close of the last century and the beginning of the present. Then arose those evangelical and benevolent institutions, which, like so many living fountains, continue to pour forth their waters of life upon the moral wastes of the world; or, which, like so many suns—centres of emanation—diffuse their vivifying light and heat, amidst dark and dreary regions, where death and horror reign; or, which, like so many depôts of the bread of life, transport the precious grain to distant and famishing nations and tribes,—that they may eat, and live for ever; or, like so many dispensaries, which send out their salutary drugs, for the healing of diseased and perish-

ing myriads, otherwise without the sovereign balm for their wounds. Well, is it not a pity, that any of these societies should want adequate means; or, that the means they possess should want men to employ them to the best advantage? I have never lacked a missionary spirit,—and I have been a humble contributor to some of these institutions, for many years,—and I should have done more, and have urged my friends and connexions to do more,—but for the gross abuses which have been gradually creeping into them. I know, that the best institutions, in the hands of frail men, are liable to abuses,—that charitable societies are peculiarly liable to them,—that the functionaries, into whose hands is committed the management, need be watched with a jealous eye. And yet, since to some extent, they possess a discretionary power—have many parties to please, some of whom are likely to be pleased with difficulty—are often placed in circumstances of perplexity, in deciding upon the best plans, and the best modes of executing them—and are liable, like other persons, to err in judgment—they should not be scanned too rigidly, and some allowances should be made. I will bear these latter considerations in mind, while pursuing this subject.

From my earliest manhood have I heard dissatisfaction whispered—more audible than lovers sighs—as to the proceedings of the men, who held the helm in some of those societies. Of late years, these whispers have become more distinct and emphatic articulations. And more recently still, they have broken out into loud expressions of decided disapprobation, bitter complaint, and earnest remonstrance. There is no mistake in this representation. Every person who has read the “Patriot” for some years, or who has been officially connected with these societies, must know all about the war of letters and pamphlets which has raged, and waxed fiercer and fiercer, in connexion with them. Now, let any cool, unprejudiced, impartial man ask himself:—“What does all this mean?—What is it all about?—Is there no just cause for so many letters and pamphlets? Are respectable men so unreasonable, as to be dissatisfied and clamorous about nothing, or about trifles?” It is not the wont of English people, to be suspicious and distrustful; and, it requires something exceedingly gross, on the part

of those in whom they confide, to excite their jealousies, alienate their confidence, and arouse them to opposition. Well, then, let us look a little into the cause, or causes, of much that has taken place.

I will begin with some of the Missionary Societies, taken in connection with the Congregational Union, and ask,—Why this affiliation? They existed long before this Union was formed, were well supported, and worked tolerably well: why were their separate existence and independent action destroyed? Why centralize them in one building, and collect their funds by one general appeal? Or, that being so; why must there be distinct offices, and separate sets of secretaries,—when, one office and one set of secretaries would be sufficient? The multiplication of offices and secretaries multiplies rents, salaries, and other expenses. Why must these secretaries—with funds failing—be so amply—and some of them extravagantly—paid? Could I move for returns, I should wish produced a comparative statement of the annual income and salaries of two of these Institutions, before their junction with this Union, and at the present time,—say, up to the last Annual Meeting. This would bring out the fact, I fancy, of a diminished revenue, and increased cost in working them.

Are not these societies living upon the principal of their funded property,—the chief of which was bequeathed to them, before they became connected with this Union? How long will such means of support last? If the present secretaries will resign their functions into other hands, I will engage, that the whole of their work shall be done—and equally well done—for little more than half the present current charges. Why must these secretaries receive twice, three-times, four-times as much, for their services, as the missionaries of the societies,—with enormous pluralities besides? Surely a material alteration in the management of these societies, with reduction in the salaries of these secretaries, is imperatively and immediately demanded. *Reform or ruin is the only alternative for them.* I could write a small volume, on the unmanly and unchristianly tyranny exercised over the Missionaries of some of these Societies,—a tyranny which fills me with indignation and abhorrence,—a tyranny, too, of which the poor men, who suffer from

it, dare not complain, lest they be dismissed ! But, I will reserve myself, on this subject, for a future occasion, when I may be able to administer ample justice to all parties ; and, in the mean time, I invite all the oppressed Missionaries, to forward their complaints to me, addressed to my publisher's. I pledge my word, as a Christian,—their names shall never transpire.

Let us take a peep, now, into the London Missionary Society. If I mistake not, we shall find evils enough there, to be lamented and corrected ! The Fathers of this noble Institution were, with some exceptions, men of strong, shrewd, benevolent minds,—practical Christian philanthropists. The first Missionaries, too, were men of the right stamp for the work to which they devoted themselves :—not, indeed, men of much erudition of any kind ; but of fervent piety and simple purpose. So far, all was right ; and things went on well. The funds increased beyond all expectation ; new spheres of missionary labour opened ; numerous candidates, for the missionary offices, offered themselves to the Directors ; remarkable success crowned the efforts of the Society, in some parts of the world ; and all was prosperous and joyous. But, ere long, these Fathers and Missionaries died ; and other persons, of somewhat different cast, became their successors. Ample funds and vast power fell into the hands of the Directors, and intoxicated their heads ; pride, vain confidence, remissness, recklessness seized the governing Divan ; the annual expenditure far exceeded the annual income ; the affairs of the Society became a labyrinth, which few could thread ; the meetings of the managing men were often a Babel of tongues and a chaos of counsels ; party contests, fitful impulses, mutable purposes, too frequently ruled their decisions, and directed their movements ; and the results were, and still are, dissatisfaction abroad amongst the agents, and distrust at home amongst the constituents. A full and faithful history of all the theoretic mistakes and practical blunders of the Directors of this Society—for many years—would prove a Penelope's web. I can attempt only a few paragraphs.

The "*fundamental principle*" adopted for this society—as appears from the annual reports—was wrong ; and wrongness in a first principle generally produces other wrongnesses. It is

often adverted to, lauded, pleaded, as a proof of the unsectarian character of the Institution; and as establishing a claim upon men of all parties, for the funds. I admire its broad dimensions, its unselfish aspect, its positive catholicity. No doubt, in its adoption, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Calvinistic Methodists, and Independents merged, so far, their denominational peculiarities:—sacrificed a prejudice and preference to a principle; gave up a non-essential, to secure an essential; yielded in what was peculiar to each, to promote that which was pre-eminently dear to all. In acting thus, there can be no doubt of the sincerity of the parties:—still, the idea, the hope, could hardly be absent from their minds, that by this means, they would the better win the co-operation of all liberal men, and secure more ample funds for their enterprise, of Evangelism. This looked well; but, it has worked ill; for, the society has not been so very zealously and extensively supported by any community, as it ought to have been. It was a pleasing indication of charitable concession: but was the principle a practicable one?—Would it, could it, be carried out? Other societies adopted no such principle; and yet, they have acted in the spirit of this:—whereas, our society has, from the beginning, been violating the letter, if not the spirit, of its fundamental rule. And, if there was no inconsistency in the adoption of this rule, at first, there has been much involved in the retention of it. In short, this boasted principle of union and co-operation has proved “a mockery, a delusion, and a snare.” Of whom, from the commencement, has the far larger proportion of the Directors of the society consisted? Independents. Whence have come, in general, the Missionaries? From amongst the Independents. By whom have they been educated? By Independents. What church polity do they practise, in remote countries, amongst their converts? That of the Independents. Nay,—would the central managing Directors of this society approve of their agents practising any other church polity,—or support them from its funds? Well then,—Away with such a fundamental principle! Away with such affected liberality! Away with deceit and Jesuitism, in every form! People must be honest, to be virtuous. And, surely, the virtue of honesty is necessary

to the character and success of all parties, in working a society of this sort.

The method of selecting the successive Directors of this society is hardly consistent with purity; and has often been made, unquestionably, a fertile source of corruption. It has long been a cause of suspicion and complaint: and still it has been retained with a tenacious hold. The fact is, these Directors are, in reality, chosen by the Secretaries, who make out the list for each succeeding year;—and obtain the vote of the annual meetings, merely to confirm their nomination. And can it be supposed, they will not select their own friends, or men supposed to be favourable to themselves? It is not in human nature to act otherwise. Consequently, as in duty bound, in any dispute, or emergency, the Directors support the Secretaries; and thus, they retain their office, in defiance of the general constituency, should it be adverse to them. And, if certain gentlemen be not on the direction this year, they may hope—for it is deemed a distinguished honour, by some persons—to be appointed for the ensuing year. If any minister, or layman, has ever been known to have expressed sentiments unfavourable to the Secretaries,—depend upon never more seeing his name amongst the Directors. If the names of the leading ministers, or laymen, of any county of England or Wales, with whom I am acquainted, and whose views of these Secretaries and their management I had heard, were mentioned to me, I could indicate, without fear of failure, who of them have been, or will be next, chosen Directors of this Society. Now, instead of this corrupt, or suspicious, mode of election, the Secretaries should have no voice, or only an individual voice, in the matter; and should merely record, and submit to the Annual Meeting for its approval, the names of suitable persons previously selected by the *auxiliary associations* from amongst themselves. Let printed forms be procured for this purpose, and transmitted to the officers of such associations for signatures,—obtained with little trouble; and we should have purity of election,—a proper representative government,—and a salutary control over the general Secretaries, and the London Committee of Management. Until this, or something like this, be done, the

constituency of this society will have no real security, that all is, as it should be, in Blomfield Street.

The injudicious or careless reception of candidates for the office of missionaries, under the patronage of this society, has often been followed by sad consequences. It is notorious, that many men have been received, educated, equipped, and sent forth to foreign stations, as missionaries, who were destitute of physical, mental, and moral fitness for the situation and work to which they were designated. It was a maxim for years, and may still be so, that if a young man wished to be a minister, and was not thought competent to home-service,—he was recommended as a missionary for foreign ministrations. This maxim has been acted upon, in scores of instances, to the damage of this society. And, as the men, thus recommended, were the *protégés* of some influential ministers, of wealthy churches, it was thought, by the London Directors, neither wise nor safe to reject them. Thus, motives of mere human prudence and policy—the fear of giving offence, or the hope of conciliating favour—induced a decision, which involved a dereliction of stern religious principle—the betrayal of an important trust—and produced many painful results, which soon began to appear. Hence, some of the missionaries engaged in commerce, perhaps contraband: some accepted civil appointments: some never acquired a competent knowledge of the language of the *natives*, to be of any real service to them: some refused to obey the wishes of the Home-Directors, and broke with the society, or were cast off: some got tired of the missionary service, and threw it up: some died in the country, almost as soon as they reached it; or, unable to endure the climate, returned home. I have examples of each case before my mind's eye, while I write. I wish I could place before the public all the failures of this kind, and all they have cost the funds of the society, for thirty years! *The number of missionaries, at present in this country, who have finally quitted the field of missionary labour, is fearful!* Perhaps, an improper selection, in some instances, cannot be wholly avoided; but, surely, the blunders made—and up to a recent period—by the London Committee, were not unavoidable, by men of penetrating intelligence and mature experience, who bring these qualities to bear on practical ques-

tions, fairly brought before them. On the men chosen to be missionaries, we expend our money; to them we delegate the representation of ourselves, in remote parts of the world; into their hands we commit the important interests of our society, with an almost entire freedom of action; on them we depend, under Providence, for the great and permanent results of the pecuniary sacrifices we make. In the choice of suitable men for such important trusts and interests, there should be no incautiousness, nor weak partiality, nor party influence, nor sinister motive permitted a place. The London Committee of Managers have proved their incompetency for such a selection—from whatever cause it may have arisen—before the eyes of the public—inasmuch as an undue proportion of their appointments have proved utter failures. I call upon you, therefore, the constituents of this society, and the source of its funds, to insist, that all future candidates for missionary service, be examined by a committee of ministers and medical men of their own neighbourhoods, before they appear for examination at Blomfield Street; and that their constitutional soundness, their mental competency, their religious character and standing, and their purity of purpose—friendship and favour apart—be made matters of grave inquisition.

The vacillation of the London Board of Directors, as to the conditions of the Secretaryships, has occasioned damage to the Society, and given offence to the constituency. It has been admitted, and even decided, by this very Board, that the Secretaryships ought not to be held in connexion with other offices or office; and that, although ministers, the Secretaries should not fill pastorates. This was a wise and necessary resolution. But alas! like many others, it has not been acted upon. Mr. Arundell was transferred from a pastoral charge, at Whitby, to the Rooms of this Society, as Home Secretary, at a salary of £300 a year; with a mutual understanding, that he was to hold no pastorate. But safely fixed in his new situation, and having favours to dispense as well as to solicit, he soon worked his way into a pastorate, in direct contravention of the resolution of the Board, and in the teeth of his own engagement, with little or no opposition from the identical men, who had bound him to observe it. True, he resigned £50 of his annual salary from the

Society ; and obtained, perhaps, £250 from his church. The reason that the present Home Secretary has no pastoral appointment is well known. Sufficient to say, it is from no fault of the Directors of the Society. And there is the Foreign Secretary, with his £300 a year ; filling, besides, a lucrative pastorate, which may yield him £400 or 500 a year in addition :—two offices these, utterly incompatible ! This gentleman may well occupy a house amongst the “ Dons,” in Finsbury Square, and have a son at Oxford ! The late excellent George Burder discharged the duties of this Secretaryship, many years, gratuitously ; and the erudite and talented Orme did the same for £150 a year. Why then, must Mr. Tidman have £300 a year ? Is it, that he does twice the labour of Mr. Orme, or does it twice as well ? Is it, that the Funds of the Society have doubled, since Mr. Orme’s time ? Is it, that the necessities of life have become so much more expensive ? No such reason, I presume, can be assigned. This pastor and Secretary talks *now—in consequence, I believe, of my former Letter*—of resigning one of the two offices he holds,—and the Missionary Directors have offered him £500 a year, if he will resign the *spiritual* for the *secular*. No doubt, he will accept their offer. Munificent gentlemen these ! What a pity it is, we cannot all get into their employ ? But, to be serious ! £500 a year for *one* official in Blomfield Street !—£500 a year, for being secretary to a charitable society, a great part of the funds of which is drawn—by *earnest entreaties*—from the pockets of some of the poorest people in the land ! What next ? I know not what next ! We shall see ! *How many of our talented and learned ministers—who labour hard every day in the week—are thankful for less than half the sum ?*

Look, next, at the system of Deputations ? A system of patronage this ! Itinerant agents of this Society are almost ever on the wing, sweeping the country for money, with as much assiduity as the people in California dig for gold. Sometimes, they carry grotesque images with them ; sometimes, they are accompanied by sable converts : and these they exhibit to wonder-loving or ignorant country folks, to stimulate their sympathies, and to extort their contributions ; just as Italian boys exhibit their monkeys, or their mice, to get pence from our

villagers ! Is there any thing of the dignity of noble principle in the persons who employ such expedients, or in those who are influenced by them ? Is it by tricks, such as these, that the Gospel is to be promoted or sustained in the world ? Sometimes, these travelling agents are from amongst our “ *Metropolitan Leaders* ” — “ *London Ministers* ” — forsooth ! — appointed by the Secretaries, — who hold these blessings in their hands to distribute to *particular friends* ! — These gentlemen like a trip into the provinces, now and then, during the fine season of the year, to breathe a little good air, and to obtain other *good things* ! But, it happens, occasionally, that the moneys they collect do not pay the expenses incurred ; and then, they must “ kill two or three birds with one stone ” — occupy two or three pulpits in one day — to make ends meet, and, therefore, their flight, from one place to another, is with *post-haste*. It is quite time, these Deputations had come to an end ! There is much corrupt influence hanging to them ; much wasteful expenditure involved in them ; much practical folly in the whole system. One or two of our elderly and popular country ministers would produce — in their own county — a deeper impression, get larger collections ; and at one-quarter the cost ! I knew a London minister, who had often been on the London Direction ; and who, one day, expressed to the Board, his doubts of the advantage to the Society, of these Deputations ; and added, that a certain eminent and influential country pastor had mentioned very strongly to him his dislike of them. The dislike of the country brother was flatly denied. My friend said, — he would communicate with him, and get his statement confirmed by written testimony. A few days passed, before he wrote ; and ere his letter could arrive, the Secretary of the Society had actually engaged the provincial pastor, to go as a Deputation to the North ! My friend — it is hardly necessary to add — never more found his own name amongst the Directors.

The treatment of the Missionaries, by the London Directors, often merits reprehension. One man is indulged, while another is oppressed. Whatever this man does is right ; and whatever that man does is wrong. One shall violate the Society’s rules, with impunity ; another doing it, shall be severely censured. Mr. A. shall return home, with his family, to this country, long

before the time prescribed by the Society has expired; be received, on his arrival, with cordial greetings; and be amply supplied with cash during his stay:—while Mr. B., returning under the same circumstances, shall be coldly received; stintingly sustained for a season; and, then discarded. But, all this depends very much, if not wholly, upon the *small affair*,—whether the Missionary has, or has not, a *relation*, or *friend*, on the London Direction; or, whether his former pastor, or present connexions are friends of the Secretaries, or liberal contributors to the Society's funds. The most gross instance of shameful partiality, I have known, is the following:—The late Mr. Jones was one of the first Missionaries to Madagascar; and was many years in the country, before Mr. Freeman went thither. A storm of persecution drove both these Missionaries home. The London Directors wished a history of the Island to be written; and requested, not Mr. Jones, but Mr. Freeman, to write it. Now Mr. Jones was the senior Missionary; knew vastly more about the country than Mr. Freeman; and was quite as able a man, and as good a scholar: but he was politely requested, to communicate to this latter gentleman materials for the history! The reason of this preference was,—that Mr. Freeman had personal friends on the London Direction, and Mr. Jones had not! This relation I received from Mr. Jones's own lips.

The positive jobbing carried on, in connexion with the management of this Society, may not be generally known. But, be it understood, I impute dishonest and dishonourable conduct to no man. Be assured, there are hungry tradesmen in London, as well as in the country; commerce creates hunger of a certain kind; and where there are “loaves and fishes” to be obtained, to gratify this instinct, they are eagerly sought after. And Blomfield Street is not without viands of this kind, for voracious appetites. Oh! no; there are heaps there; and it is only to know, how to get at them! Why, painters, upholsterers, paper-makers, printers, publishers, booksellers, trunk-makers, outfitters, and others, are all necessary to such a society:—and depend upon it, they all obtain a share of the good things distributed; and the distributors must be “gracious men” with them. But, I am informed, that some of these hungry folks are privileged persons; and secure, for the most

part, a monopoly. It is sometimes well, to have a friend at court; and when we have not, there are ways and means of *making* friends; of converting indifferent persons into friends,—who shall feel an interest in us, and a wish to serve us. The following anecdote is illustrative. There was once upon a time, as the tale goes, in or about the city of London, an outfitter,—I forget his name and place of abode:—not Moses and Sons, of Aldgate, I fancy! With this outfitter was a relative—in business—of an influential man, connected with the London Missionary Society; and on him was conferred the privilege of supplying the missionaries with certain articles needful for their voyage, &c. It was usual to give this tradesman an order upon the treasurer to a considerable amount; and to that amount, the applicant missionary for an “*outfit*” was to receive goods. Now, it so happened, as I have been informed, that a certain missionary took a competent gentlemen with him, to examine the goods supplied by this favoured tradesman; when it appeared, that the various articles—and of the same quality—could be purchased, elsewhere, for little more than half the prices affixed. The missionary proceeded to his station; but his friend, the gentleman, ceased from that time to subscribe to the Funds of the Society. What is the moral of my tale?

Before the missionary agents of this society quit the land of their birth, for their respective destinations, a paper of private instructions, composed by the Foreign Secretary, and approved by the Directors, is commonly put into their hands, to guide and regulate their conduct and work, in the countries where they are to live and labour. This is a wise and safe precautionary measure, by which the experience of age is made to supply the inexperience of youth. But, we have cause to fear something wrong here, on the part of either the givers, or the receivers, of such instructions; since baleful consequences have followed. You have heard of Tahiti, that gem of the Southern Ocean; and of the invasion of the French, and oppression of the Queen; and of the noble resistance of the natives; and of the eventual establishment of the Protectorate. Louis Philippe and Guizot have received retribution for that. England did not reward them; but Providence did. But, will you believe me, when I say,—that our own missionaries were the *first* cause—the *real*

cause—of all the calamities which have befallen that beautiful Island, the good Queen, her brave people, and the cause of religion? The conduct of the French was a pretended retaliation of insult. Two, or three, popish priests—natives of France—had landed on the Tahitian shores, to propagate their religion—as they had a right to do—and were forcibly ejected,—compelled to desist, and leave the Island. *Here was the first act of violence, in the Tragedy which followed; committed by the Tahitians themselves; under the direction of their own teachers of religion; and involving, essentially, the elements of persecution for religion!* It may be pleaded, that there was a Law in the Island; under the sanction, and in the execution, of which, the ejectionment was effected. But, *who advised the natives to enact such a law at first, and recommended them to enforce it on this occasion?* Who? the missionaries of our own society. Yes, protestant missionaries—Congregational ministers—were *really* the authors of a tyrannical and persecuting law; and instigated the civil authorities of the Island to put it in force against those defenceless, and, perhaps, well-meaning, priests. This fact has been carefully concealed from the religious public,—*I have no knowledge, however, that publicity has ever been given to it. Will the Directors dare to deny this fact,—this melancholy fact?* Now, did these missionaries, or did they not, understand the doctrine of religious freedom,—which, in this instance, they practically denied, and even outraged? If they did not, they ought to have been taught it, in the forementioned official document; and if they did, having had it distinctly laid down and impressed, they ought—when this wanton violation of it became known to the Directors—to have been publicly disowned. *The blood shed at Tahiti, as the result, lies still at the door of them who are to blame in the business; and the stigma fastened upon us, as a religious community, will remain on the page of impartial history.* I know, it may be pretended, by religious bigots and ignorant partisans, that this was a “righteous law.” A righteous law! Then was the law righteous, which condemned and crucified Christ; and the Roman Edicts righteous, which consigned the early Christians to savage beasts; and the Six “Bloody Acts” of Henry VIII. righteous, which committed protestants

to the flames! Or, it may be said, that “ the priests were not maltreated,—they were merely ejected.” But, was not their ejection, maltreatment?—was it not compulsory banishment, to prevent them teaching their religion? Does the degree of punishment, in any case, qualify the principle of it? Is it less persecution for religion, whether men be banished, to restrain them from propagating their religious sentiments; or imprisoned and scourged, for having propagated them?—whether they be tied to a stake, and singed merely; or be tied to it, and consumed to ashes?—whether a brace of catholic priests be rudely forced out of a country; or a brace of protestant missionaries be murdered in it? Or, it may be alleged, that “ these priests went to the Island to teach heresy.” Grant it:—but, what is heresy with a protestant, is orthodoxy with a papist; and what is orthodoxy with a papist, is heresy with a protestant. Every man is a heretic to his neighbour, who differs with him,—and so far as he differs with him—in his religious opinions and usages. Have not papists as much right to their religion, and as much right to teach it, as protestants? The simple questions are:—“ Were those priests *sincere* in their belief of their own religion?—and were they *benevolent* in seeking to communicate it to the Tahitians?” According to our *professed* ideas of treating men, who hold errors in religion, and wish to induce other persons to adopt them,—these popish visiters should have been refuted, not expelled. Or, we may be told,—that “ the Islanders were already civilized and Christianized,—and did not need other teachers;” and that “ the teaching of the priests would have led to differences of opinion—and, perhaps, to divisions—amongst them.” I admit this:—but, then, is not this objection a two-edged sword, applying with equal force to our own efforts to proselyte—or, if you please, convert to protestantism—by sending ministers amongst them—Irish, French, and German catholics? The naked truth is simply this:—the poor natives, with their Queen and chiefs, were victimized to protestant—to Congregational—bigotry and exclusiveness;—whether the secretaries of the society were to blame, for not sufficiently instructing the missionaries; or the missionaries were to blame, for not acting up to their instructions; or the French were to

blame, for vengefully resenting the supposed insult offered to their country.*

The *lavish expenditure of the Society is too great to be told here; or, if told, it would hardly be credited.* It is proverbial, how differently official men manage the affairs of the public and their own private affairs; and how freely they expend public money, while remarkably careful of their own cash. Rarely are Societies, Committees, Boards, free from the censure implied in this proverb! And I am sorry to be obliged to add,—this Society is not exempt from the censure. But, upon the whole, I blame the system of management, rather than individuals. I have no intimacy, whatever, with Doctor Reed—no communication with him—and know him only by sight: but, whatever may have been his motives, or the temper he displayed—I impugn neither—in his late controversy with the immediate managers of this Institution;—his figures were correct,—as ten thousand tongues have declared. An argument founded upon correct figures amounts to demonstration,—furnishes the strongest degree of proof,—and shows the opposite position or conclusion to be absurd and impossible. I read all that was published, on both sides of the controversy,—and am deliberately convinced, that *such* was a large proportion of Doctor Reed's argument. Indeed, long before that controversy arose—or the war of pamphlets had commenced with either party—I, and others, had seen, from the Society's Annual Balance Sheet,—that a large amount of the moneys collected, in this country, from our pockets—and from the pockets of the poorest of our people—to send the Gospel to foreign nations that have it not—never leaves this country; and much of that sum is little else than wasted. And long ere a committee of investigation—*selected and convened by the London Secretaries and Directors!*—announced the astounding fact, that “£10,000 a year, at least, might be saved on the foreign expenditure, without injury to a single missionary, or reduction of a single station of the Society,” I had more than suspicions—*founded upon the statements of returned missionaries*—that all

* Several of the missionaries, during the late troubles in Tahiti, returned to this country. Some of them, I am informed, were asked, why they came home; and the reply was, that there were *too many* missionaries in the Island,—and their services were not needed! But, what suppose you, did the return of these five or six men cost the Funds of the Society? Only the *small item* of £1,800! This I have been told by, as I believe, a safe authority. How much more did they cost, after their return?

was not right abroad, any more than at home. That announcement, however, aroused me—as it did many others—to closer thought and inquiry, as to the loose management of the affairs of the Society; after which, I asked myself *two questions*:—
“If £10,000 a year can be saved in the foreign expenditure of the Society, without damage to missionaries or stations; then, for how many years have £10,000 been annually wasted? And, if so much has been unnecessarily lavished in other countries; what sum may not have been—for the same number of years—needlessly expended in this country?” This is, I believe, the practical view of the case, which every man of business would have taken. The Home-expenditure is, in round numbers, from £8,000 to £10,000 a year! I adopt Doctor Reed’s figures. *The salaries of the Mission-house, £1,700 a year; Printing and stationery, £1,000 a year; Returned missionaries, £4,000 a year; District agency, nearly £1,000 a year; Travelling expenses, in this country, £1,300 a year. These items make an aggregate cost of £9,000 a year! But, there are many other items, of which the public can have no knowledge,—at which they cannot take a single glance! Secrets are sacred things; and few only must possess them! No doubt, a very large sum of this gross amount might be saved, without impairing the domestic operations of the Society. We want a Joseph Hume, or a Richard Cobden, in Blomfield Street, quite as much as he is needed in the House of Commons,—to suggest some effective plan of reform; to enforce economy; to cut down profligate expenditure. We are being devoured by men, who, out of our free contributions—and, in thousands of instances, personal sacrifices—are living in lordly luxury,—and are positively acquiring a fortune for their families!*

The Directors engaged the services of Mr. Tidman, to write and publish a reply to Doctor Reed’s charges. With what success he executed his undertaking, it is not for me to say. But, although himself implicated in these charges, he accepted a handsome remuneration for his attempt to fritter them away, as well as got his pamphlet “out,” free of charge to himself. These generous Directors raised a subscription, to reward their colleague and champion; by which, should Mrs. Tidman survive her husband, she will receive £70 a year; and, at her death, a

sum of £207 : 11s. will be divided between their children. Truly, Mr. Tidman and his family were enriched by the storm, which Doctor Reed raised about the ears of these London Secretaries and Directors ! It is a bad wind that blows good to no one. Probably, this gentleman would like another such wind, and *windfall*, every year ? These Secretaries may congratulate one another, and rub noses ! We have heard of a “Golden Lecture” in the city ; but here are *golden* Secretaryships ! The ancient Persians thought themselves superior to all mankind besides : and these Secretaries must think themselves superior to all similar “knights of the quill.” The peculiar endowments of some of them are so profound, that people are often puzzled to comprehend them. Where shall we find their equals in *all* things ? Surely, they were made on purpose for us ! Every age does not produce such men ! They are a *peculiar* race ; and, no doubt, *they think* it becomes us to take special care of them, and preserve the breed ! To all their other excellences, they would do well to add *moderation*. Everything, to be permanent, must be moderate :—moderation is a condition of continuance. If they moderate their ambition, it will become a rational desire ; if their labours, they will become *practicable* duties ; and if their incomes, they will become reasonable rewards. Continued excess, in these respects, must, sooner or later, entail ruin upon them, and upon our Society. We must have done with all extravagance, both in the managers and in the management of our public institutions. It has long crippled our energies ; and if not speedily abandoned, it will paralyze and extinguish our charitable societies.

Had I the London Missionary Society in my hands, I would change its entire economy,—with a view of recalling public confidence to it, in order to restore its diminished Funds ;—of lopping off all unnecessary expenditure in its working, to extend its operations, and effect a greater proportion of good with the Funds realized ;—of rendering it more prosperous at home, and more effective abroad,—that its name might be great, its power great, and its achievements great. And in order to bring about this change, I would have new men and new measures. I would dismiss all the present functionaries from the Mission-house ; and replace them with a different class of men. I

would appoint some one of our elder ministers, as *President* of the Establishment,—a man of known practical wisdom,—and request him, to select *clerks*, from amongst able *laymen*,—who should be accountable to him, as he would be to us. I would assign so many Directors for London, and so many for the country; to be chosen by the Constituencies, and approved by the Annual Meeting. I would discontinue all *Deputations*,—as at present; and request popular and influential ministers, in the provinces, to perform their present services. I would reduce the printing expenses of the Society to one-half their present amount, by reducing the Annual Reports to one half their usual size, and discontinuing all other *unnecessary* charges in this department. I would diminish the allowance for “*outfits*” one half; and permit no salaries to missionaries, but when in the active service of the Society. I would dispose of all the foreign property of the Society, except the chapels; and entreat the missionaries to be satisfied with salaries, which will enable them to live, not as *gentlemen of the world*, but, as *self-denying ministers of Christ*. In short, I would introduce a *Moravian* element into every thing,—and recommend an imitation of the Moravian missionaries to our own. I have thus given you a few hasty suggestions, as examples of beneficial changes: but the subject admits of a more exact and comprehensive statement, which I may, *before long*, submit to your serious consideration.*

EIGHTH DIVISION.

An Examination of our Scheme of Education.

Ignorance is an unnatural condition of man. And, as that which is unnatural is always injurious, so ignorance is a calamity,—whether found in one man, or in a community of men.

* Did I possess the power, a similar change should be effected in the three Societies mentioned above. They should be consolidated under one Administration; at the head of which should be placed some able minister of long standing and known respectability; who should appoint *lay* Secretaries, and be accountable to a well-selected Board of Directors, composed of practical men. Mr. Wells should be allowed to stay at home, at Clapton, to employ himself wholly in his ministerial and pastoral duties: Mr. Palmer should be released, to have more time for his Sabbath-day services and week-day visitations: Dr. Massie should retire, to be saved the trouble of writing any more Circulars to Missionaries: and Mr. James should be requested to seek other employments, more congenial to his tastes. I mean no disrespect when I affirm,—that *our Societies will never work well, till the Secretaryships be placed in the hands of laymen; and the business be conducted, as in the offices or counting-houses of our merchants and bankers.*

And yet, ignorance is comparative and relative. One man may know less than another, and not be in absolute ignorance; and he may know some things tolerably well, although his knowledge be exceedingly limited and imperfect. Many things are advanced, as axiomatic truths, concerning ignorance and knowledge, which are not strictly correct. Ignorance has been called the mother of devotion;—but, this is a false maxim, or the most ignorant would be always the most devotional—superstitious, I suppose, is meant—which is contrary to fact. It is said, also, to be the parent of vice;—but, this is not a general truth,—for the least informed are not always the most vicious, nor the most informed the most virtuous. It is said, too, to be the most fertile source of human degradation and misery; but, this admits of exceptions. No doubt, when men are entirely under the government of their animal passions, and without those expedients of self-improvement and refined pleasure, which enlightened reason suggests, they must be lower in the scale of virtue and comfort than others. Uneducated people, however, are not always *low, shiftless, and wretched*.

Too much may be ascribed to knowledge, in rendering people virtuous, useful, and happy. There is an essential difference between men, as they come into the world,—which no education will ever subdue, nor materially modify. And there is a great difference in the external circumstances of men,—which influence them for good or for evil, which tend to depress or to raise them. And much depends, in their character and course, through life, upon the connexions they form, one way or another. And, then, no small portion of the little knowledge possessed by people, called educated, is only superficial and technical; and neither enlarges nor refines their intellect; nor so incorporates itself with their mental associations and tastes, as to form the *substratum* of a high and virtuous character, of a useful and happy life. I hold poverty to be as great a cause of national, or class, degeneracy,—of our social vices,—political outbreaks,—agrarian conflagrations,—as ignorance: nor does it appear, in my feeble judgment, that the humbler classes of society will ever be materially improved, in character and habits, unless they can be placed in a better condition, as to their outward circumstances, by more certain employment, or better

wages, or both. And, it is not less plain to my mind, that recklessness amongst our labouring population—superinduced by indigence—is as productive a cause of vice and misery, as want of education. Indeed, there is a connexion between these; poverty produces carelessness,—and carelessness crime,—and crime wretchedness.

But, after all that can be advanced to the contrary, it must be admitted, that knowledge is necessary and beneficial to man; as necessary and beneficial to his mind and manners, as food is to his bodily health and strength; and that kind of knowledge which education supplies, or ought to supply. His mind is as much made to be the receptacle of knowledge, as is his stomach to be the receptacle of food; indeed, knowledge is to the one, what food is to the other. As a general rule, a man educated and a man uneducated must be very different beings, and very differently conducted and adapted. By education, man will be brought into a state of civilization; without it, he will be left in a state a barbarism: in the one case, he will be under the government of reason and conscience; in the other, he will be guided by instinct and passion: educated, he will pass a life of reflection; uneducated, he will pass a life of sensation: possessed of knowledge, he will be a man; without it, he will be a brute: with the facilities of education, he may—in a free country like ours—rise to the highest offices of the state; without them, he must ever remain a slave.

But, there are points of importance, which should ever be pondered during the period of education; namely, *capacity*, *taste*, and *probable destination*;—and these should regulate both the kind and the degree of education sought to be imparted. No children can be taught what they cannot receive; they will be taught with difficulty, where there is no inclination to learn; and they may receive an education which will unfit them for their future station and duties of life. And, then, it should never be forgotten, that man is a moral, as well as an intelligent, being; and that, therefore, his moral nature should be cultivated, as well as his intellectual. No system, nor kind, nor degree of education can be complete,—nor reach the entire nature of man,—nor impart all he needs,—without this addition. And, although, no human training can infiltrate religion into his

heart ; yet, a child may receive those views and biases, which may, afterwards, induce correct habits, lead to reflection, and issue in piety. Much will depend upon the character and ability of the teacher, as to the moral fruits of his efforts.

Well, then, if popular ignorance is an evil to be deprecated, and popular education a blessing to be desired, to whom does it properly belong, as a practical question, to provide the means of removing the former, by securing the latter. Unquestionably, to the parents of the children, who are their natural guardians ; who, in caring for their offspring, care for their own flesh and blood ; and whose responsibility, with the Creator and Governor of the world, is as great in reference to the *minds* of their children, as to their *bodies*. Every possible effort should be employed, to enlighten them in their duty, in this business, and to induce them to perform it. Wantonly and unnecessarily to abstract children from the care of their parents, to give them a gratuitous education, is to destroy the feeling of self-dependance in the parents ; and in after life, may destroy the feeling of self-esteem in the children. There is great danger of this in the present day, from the party-zeal and earnest-rivalry of opposing religious sects.

But, suppose the parents poor and penniless, and possess not the means of educating their children ;—how then ? Why, their wealthy neighbours—who are generally their employers—should provide the means for them ;—the strong, in this as in other matters, bearing the burden of the weak. Or, what if they possess the means, but lack the inclination,—and are quite at ease, with their children growing up around them in barbaric ignorance ? In that case, might there not be some local authority, to compel them to do their duty to their families ? Were they to neglect to feed their offspring, and disease and death ensued, they would be amenable to the Law : and why should they not be amenable to some Law, if they neglect to store their minds with certain useful knowledge, to prepare them to be valuable members of society ? But, assume, that parents cannot secure education for their children, and that their wealthy neighbours will not afford them aid ; how, then, shall the children obtain improving and profitable instruction, to fit them for future life ? May not the Government of the country step in, and

require each parish to provide the means of educating the children of its own destitute poor? Or, may they not make an annual grant from the *national-purse*, to assist the voluntary efforts of benevolent parties, throughout the country? Ah! here is the difficulty—the vexatious question! With some classes of people, however, this difficulty is speedily surmounted; for they view the *State* as the parent and guardian of all its subjects; and, as bound to help all, in so important an affair, who cannot help themselves,—just as natural parents, possessing the ability, help their helpless families. But, other classes regard this *State-interference*—even to administer charity—as an encroachment and an offence.

I admit, the argument for State-education is open to serious objections, on the part of Nonconformists. Why, it may be said, should the State provide education for the people, and not religion?—the argument for the one is an argument for the other,—equally valid; and, where, then, is our objection to the Established Church? Or, why should the State furnish school-masters and instruction for the poor of its subjects, and not physicians and medicine? Surely, their life and health are as important to the State, as their minds and manners. But, if the State provide for education, will it not require religion to be a part of that education; as it is generally conceded, that no education is complete, or safe, from which religion is wholly excluded? And, then, the question arises,—since there are so many different creeds and forms of religion in the kingdom:—according to what creed and form shall the children be taught? It may be said, that the Bible only shall be read and explained. But, then, who is to explain it? The school-master may be of this religious persuasion or of that,—and, of course, will put his own construction upon what is read. And, furthermore, if the State gives its money for education, mental and moral, will it not require to be assured, that the money is rightly appropriated; and that the education is what it ought to be, by some confidential agent of its own appointing? And, may not that agent unduly meddle with the religious part of the instruction; and demand, that things shall be taught, which are opposed to the views and feelings of the parents? And will not the State acquire an immense additional power over the people, by State-

grants towards educating the poor ; and thus make the money obtained from the public, as taxes, the means of enslaving them ? The voluntary principle is sufficient in education, as well as in religion ; and ought to be left, unfettered and unaided, to instruct and raise the masses.

These are, I believe, the chief objections raised by the most rigid class of objectors to all Government schemes of education ; and I have endeavoured to state them—so far as I understand them—fully and fairly. Some of them, I admit, are forcible ; but, others are exceedingly feeble,—and a few are false and absurd. The present Government-scheme—which is being worked extensively and effectively—viewed without party-prejudice—annihilates some of these objections,—reduces others to extreme littleness,—and, in my humble judgment, renders those who reject the aid tendered, vastly more unreasonable, than those who receive it. And, I am happy to know that, as a conscientious Congregational Nonconformist, I am not singular in this opinion ;—nor do I doubt, that the majority of our people will be brought round, by and by—*having learnt from experience*—to entertain the same view.

That the present Whig Government have possessed more power—from the divided state of other parties in the Commons House of Parliament—than any previous Ministers, for many years ; that they are mostly churchmen, by education and preference ; that they have disappointed the hopes of certain classes of Nonconformists—or certain parties amongst those classes—and have been goaded, and even damaged, by some of the Dissenting Constituencies :—all this is well known. But, let us, nevertheless, do them justice, as to their educational scheme. Without arbitrarily establishing a uniform system of instruction for all the different religious parties in the country—or even essaying to do so—and compelling the attendance of the children of those poor parents, who cannot pay for the education of their families ; they have met the difficulty, by aiding the voluntary principle amongst all parties, and superseding it amongst none ; and will give to each ecclesiastical body, *one-third* of the amount, they will subscribe, or can raise, for the support of any school, or schools, in connexion with themselves. They require only to be assured, by competent inspectors, whom they will

appoint and pay, that the education is of the kind and degree, *professed to be given*. And, furthermore, if any of the Nonconformist parties wish it,—the inspectors shall be appointed from amongst themselves;—and the Committee in Council, or the inspectors on their behalf, will not interfere with the *religious* part of the education in their schools, except to be assured, as a matter of fact, that some such education is not omitted. *Here is homage paid to the voluntary principle; here is a generous, and yet cautious liberality; here is a relaxation made, really admirable; here is a concession granted, to meet our religious scruples, truly catholic!* I hail this, as a token of the growing expansion of the spirit of freedom, and the love of fair play, in our statesmen! This a step—nay, a *stride*—in the right direction!

No wonder, that other religious parties, besides the Established Church, have accepted the aid of the Government, to assist them in educating the children of their poor! The wonder is, that any party—with brains in their heads and right feelings in their bosoms—should pertinaciously refuse it! The event will prove, that they are more nice than wise. The Church people, the Wesleyan Methodists, and others, wisely take all they can get: but, a *portion* of the Congregationalists—for *some do receive it, and more think it ought to be received*—guided by the chief men of the Congregational Union, repudiate it on every condition, and with scorn, on the principle, *that the State has no right to interfere, at all, with the education of the people!* Now, this assumed principle may be sound, or unsound; but, it is plainly an abstract principle, which, right or wrong, no statesmen will recognize,—which the public mind is not prepared to entertain,—which other Nonconformists wholly reject, or deem hardly tenable, or wholly merge,—and which, if perseveringly adhered to, will go far towards swamping us, as a distinct religious community.

But, why reject the Government assistance, in connection with our voluntary efforts, to provide and sustain means for educating the children of our poor people? Wise men never adopt strong measures and take last steps, without powerful and incontrovertible reasons: but, are the reasons here, indubitably of this character? Can we undertake and prosecute a

comprehensive scheme of education, which shall embrace, and successively embrace, all our needy and dependant families, without foreign aid? Certainly not,—the thing is absolutely hopeless. Our *great effort* has proved a failure,—and our operations are now circumscribed and languishing, for want of funds. Extraordinary efforts may keep them just alive—to afford us something of which to boast—for a few years; but, ere long, they will come to a dead pause. The voluntary principle is good, and can effect much; but, as a practical principle, it supposes the possession of *power*, as well as of *inclination*; and amongst a comparatively poor people, such as we are, that *much* must be *little*. We have, in ourselves, no cause adequate to the effect we wish to produce. Not from a few *large* and *flourishing* towns must we gather notions of our denominational resources; they furnish exceptions, not the rule. If, in our corps of teachers—trained and untrained—we had the lever of Archimedes; we have no sufficient fulcrum, on which to rest it. *Money* is the means by which we must work; and without it, we can no more erect school-houses and sustain schools—than, without it, we can build chapels and support the ministry of the gospel in them. Our difficulty, in doing the latter, is well known; nor will it prove less, in doing the former. The voluntary principle has not planted chapels amongst, and commensurate with, the vast and increasing populations of Bethnel-Green, Marylebone, Chelsea, Lambeth, and many other places in and about London: nor has it erected them in hundreds of places, of equal destitution and demand, throughout the provinces: nor will it ever effect that for the education of children, which it has failed to effect for the conversion of adults. We may *will* to do great and extensive good; but, the evil of poverty is present with us. *I affirm, with a full knowledge of the subject,—that the voluntary principle here has proved, will prove, must prove a failure!*

As to the Government—provided we accepted their proffered assistance—passing from our school-rooms to our pulpits, from our education to our religion, from aiding us in the one to endow us in the other:—it is all moonshine, mere pretence, mean suspicion, cowardly fear. The day of force, in education and religion, has past away, and is never likely to redawn upon us. The progress of opinion is of a decidedly liberal tendency;

freedom has become the watch-word, even with statesmen and priests; and we are not likely to be enslaved *ab extra*, if we escape *ab intra*. Her majesty's ministers do not *force* us to take their money for our schools; and it is not probable they will ever attempt to force us to take their money for our chapels. *Would much force be necessary?* But this is beside our argument. We could "cut with them," at any time, if we perceived an inclination to entrap us; for, what is freely given, may be readily rejected. We should possess the same power to refuse, which we now have to accept. As to the commonplaces, so often repeated, about the "point of the wedge," and the "foot of the fox," and others of a similar kind,—they may amuse foolish, or frighten timid people; but, with our *constitutional* means of restraining any set of political Rulers, these innuendoes are unworthy of manly minds.

Comparatively few amongst us know, with whom originated the idea of absolutely rejecting all Government aid for educational purposes; who first enunciated the abstract principle of non-interference, on the part of our ruling authorities. One wonders, sometimes, how a body of deliberative men can become the subjects of certain fatuous fancies; and be carried away by them, as if spell-bound, into such grievous practical blunders! The fact is, few agitating men, in a public movement of much interest, are deliberative, — excitement and deliberation are incompatible. They are thoroughly possessed of the starting, stimulating thought; it has entered deeply into their feelings; it has given them their direction and momentum: but the fever of the "excitements of their reason and their blood" renders farther inquiry, cool reflection, and clear discernment next to impossible. Such men are seldom troubled with a *second* thought, on the subject which has engrossed them, and taken the lead of every other. And with a number of such men, independent thought and action are exchanged for blind and servile subjection, to some admired chieftain, or chieftains, to whom they have been wont to look up, as to heaven-inspired oracles: and these mould and guide them at pleasure. If these oracular leaders be persons of perspicacious, penetrating, practical sense — *prudent* as well as bold — their followers will be likely to take a right and safe course; but, if sanguine, crotchety, and, withal, proud and obstinate,—the probability is, their course will be

wrong and disastrous. The late Dr. Hamilton of Leeds, I believe, struck the key-note of the clamour against all State-assistance for education. His neighbour and friend, Mr. Baines, caught the sound, and chimed in; and the echoes reaching the ears of certain metropolitan secretaries and editors, connected with the Congregational Union, the music became a long and rough roar. Far be it from me to write harsh things of the *dead*,—I leave that to *others*:—peace be to the manes of Doctor Hamilton! But, although entitled to some consideration with his party,—his counsel, in this instance, was foolish and fatal! He was a well educated man, who had read almost every book, except Euclid's Elements and Newton's Principia; a man of much poetry of nature, playful wit, and sparkling eloquence; a man, sincere, ardent, exuberant,—but of narrow foresight, and unsure calculation; a man, who was always a warm and faithful friend, but never, in great practical matters, a safe pilot. The adulation offered to him *personally*, and the praise heaped upon his *writings*, while he yet lived—by a small knot of small men—a “bevy of flatterers and sycophants,” “abject and crouching”—were excessive and fulsome. Of Mr. Baines, I have nothing disrespectful to advance. He seems to be a gentleman of some abilities: but he is liable to the common frailties of judgment, which beset other men; and as likely, as men of meaner station, to catch the blind and precipitate enthusiasm, which stirring party questions produce.

In rejecting the Government aid, for our scholastic institutions, we are inconsistent with ourselves. Not long since, we should have hailed, what we now condemn; and have received, what we now repudiate. Why, some of the persons who are most vociferous against accepting it—as Dr. Campbell—actually received such aid, a few years ago. Whether they have returned the money, now that they have changed their opinions, I know not. Had Lord John Russell's string of resolutions—on the subject of education—submitted, some years ago, to the House of Commons—been adopted, with some modifications; we should have deemed the measures founded upon them, a blessing to the nation. Well, here are still more liberal measures; and we declaim against them with vehemence, and reject the advantages they propose! It is not long, since we were about to

petition the Government, to remove the duty from the materials used in building our chapels; and, could we have hoped to succeed, should have done so: but, where would have been the difference between accepting that boon, and receiving this? We are now actually taking public money, to obtain literary distinctions for the students in our colleges, and for the preservation of our Denominational Registers:—are we not, then, at issue with ourselves, in refusing it for our schools? The principle is the same, fight against the extension of it as we may. It is not uncommon for prejudiced and vehement partisans, to detect distinctions, where there is really no difference; and if it be necessary to their interests, to keep themselves before the public eye—in the absence of other and juster topics—these baseless distinctions serve their purpose, for forcible and unpausing declamation.

Where is our gratitude, as a portion of the Great Dissenting Community of this country, in taking our present stand against the Government educational scheme? It may not be all we wish, nor all we want, nor all we might have had. Lord John Russell and his colleagues, in office, may not have done for us—for the country—all we had hoped they would do; nor all they had power to do; nor all they ought to have done. We have generally supported them in the Elections; and many times helped to lift them into place and power. And, if, during the dark days and foul weather of the past, they have often been our sheet-anchor; there have been emergencies, in which we have been their chief hope. But, if—with all their sins of omission taken into the account—they owe us a debt of gratitude; their bill against us is more than sufficient to cancel our claim. Gratitude for former favours, is a duty we owe to man, as well as to God. We ought not to have supposed, that—as *Churchmen*—they would sympathise with all our views, and go all our lengths in carrying them out? but, let us not be unmindful of ancient kindnesses. If they have not realized all our wishes, nor fulfilled all their own promises,—we are under deep and lasting obligations to them. To Lord John Russell and his political friends, we owe, *nationally and denominationally*, all the great, Legislative, liberal measures of late years. Can we, ought we, to forget the Bill for the repeal of the Test

and Corporation Acts,—the Reform Bill,—the Municipal Bill,—the Negro Emancipation Bill,—the Penny-postage Bill,—the Registration Bill,—the Anti-Corn Law Bill, and others? And, then, *the future!* *We may need Lord John Russell and his friends yet, before many years!*

Our repudiation of this Government assistance is palpably unjust. It may be right enough in a number of persons, for reasons best known to themselves, to refuse certain benefits which other parties designed for them, and wish them to accept: but, there may be circumstances, to render such a refusal, in particular cases, a violation of the eternal laws of truth and uprightness. And this, I conceive, is one such. For years, the Public had been calling—the Dissenters generally had been calling—we had been calling for some great and comprehensive educational measure; which should be the means of instructing the poor of the land, and thus ameliorating their condition; and which should be, *upon the whole*, equally fair to all religious parties. Popular education has been one of the leading demands of the day—as it has been one of the chief wants of the country—from every succeeding Ministry. And, whoever dreamt, till lately, that private charity could be adequate to the demand, or supply the deficiency? Every person thought and said, that a Government measure was necessary, to meet the necessity of the case. And none could imagine, that—where so many hostile interests were to be consulted, and so many party prejudices to be obviated—we could have a measure, from any ministry, in all respects in exact accordance with our own preconceptions and tastes. Well, at length, a measure is presented, superior to all previously proposed; and with the presentation of which, a readiness is expressed, to meet our objections and wishes to every reasonable extent. Some alterations are consequently made; some things are omitted, and others added, for this purpose. But nothing succeeds, to make the measure agreeable to many amongst us; and at length, certain gentlemen volunteer their services, to speak for the whole community; and turning upon the authors of it, *modestly* and reproachfully tell them:—they have no business, whatever, to embark in an educational scheme; and, that the Congregationalists do not approve of their conduct, nor will they accept their money!

Might not Lord John Russell and his friends *reprove* us, and say:—"You have long asked a measure at our hands; here is the best we can give you; you are offered the benefits of it on the same terms as others—nay, relaxations are made in our rules, to meet your particular views; and you, angrily and sulkily, decline to accept our proffered help?—Gentlemen, you quarrel with your 'bread and butter;' we will wait till you become hungry!" Might not those amongst us, who take the money, or feel disposed to take it, appeal to those who refuse it, in the language of *remonstrance*:—"that the refusal is unjust to us,—and much more so the abuse for not joining in it;—since new ground has been assumed, and new arguments are urged, in making, or justifying, the refusal, not thought of—not mooted—formerly; and which ground and arguments do not approve themselves to our judgment? And might not our poor people themselves unite in the implied censure, and pronounce the refusal of the money unjust to them and to their children; since they have no objection to such charity, and comprehend not, why other persons—not half so deeply interested—reject it? Why should the poor and helpless be compelled, on account of scruples incomprehensible to them, either to rear their children in hopeless ignorance, or to compromise their consistency, and send them to the schools of other religious parties? Why should thousands of our destitute families—because they are, and wish to remain, Congregationalists—be made to suffer essentially, and have the curse of gross and pitiable ignorance entailed upon them, to gratify the fancies or whims of certain proud and boasting editors, secretaries, and other agitators, who feel not their wants, and cannot sympathize with their anxieties and regrets? Why should the poor be sacrificed to the rich?

Our conduct in rejecting the proffered Government assistance, in this important business, is unfeeling and unphilanthropic. In passing through life, we often find it necessary to concede, in order to succeed; to yield in small matters, to obtain great objects; to give up some things, to become possessed of others of higher moment. This is a common experience. Well, there are tens of thousands of poor and ignorant children belonging to us, for whose necessary instruction, it is not denied, our Sunday-schools are insufficient; and to provide all that is

needful for whom, in day-schools, is palpably beyond our means. We *know* this; we *deplore* it; we are anxious to attach them permanently to our places of worship; we should be grieved to lose them from our ranks:—and yet, we are willing, that—remaining with us—they shall grow up in barbarous ignorance, rather than we will be induced to accept aid from the Government, to enable us to provide the means of ample instruction,—to civilize their minds and manners,—and to qualify them for important stations and relations in the world! That is,—we sacrifice their interests—all but highest interests—to our opinions and prejudices; and sooner than we will fall in with the Minister's plan of education, they shall remain in brute-ignorance,—social unfitness and incapacity? This is to be the high reward of their steadfast adherence to us; the painful penalty of their permanent Congregationalism! Can we wonder, if their parents surmount their scruples as Dissenters, or as Congregationalists, and send their children to other schools?—or even break caste themselves, to procure for their offspring, in another Communion, what they are debarred from obtaining for them in their own? And, this we call political purity, Congregational consistency, Christian wisdom! I could designate it by other terms! Why, we perpetrate a cruelty in the name of religion; we inflict a great social injury, under the pretence of ecclesiastical consistency; we commit a positive crime, to practise a disputable virtue; we employ the means of self-destruction, to preserve our life, health, and growth!

Our present conduct, in declining to participate in the Government provision for education, if persisted in, will materially damage us, as a distinct religious denomination. The slumbering attention of all parties, in this country, has been aroused to the importance of pauper education: all view it, as the great panacea for many of our national vices and miseries: all desire its extension, as a chief means of raising our national character, and promoting our social security and comfort. Ancient prejudices, against educating the poor, have worn out in the minds of the upper classes; sophistical objections have grown obsolete; statesmen, philanthropists, moral philosophers, ministers of religion—however different in other respects—unite in calling for the education—and on an improved scale—of the ignorant chil-

dren of our towns and villages. The parents of these children—although themselves uneducated—have caught a glimpse of the value of education for their offspring. And no doubt—with this general crusade against popular ignorance—the religious parties will get the greatest number of children to educate, whose apparatus of educating means is most extensive and effective. And they who have the most money—other things being equal—will have the greatest number of schools, teachers, and scholars. The Established Church far outstrips all other Churches, at present, in this educational movement. The Wesleyans next take the lead. *We* are left far behind both these communities; and the distance will grow greater every year. They will, ere long, sweep the nine-tenths of all the poor children, in the country, requiring education, into their schools. The reason is as obvious as the event is certain:—not only are they—or either of them—in themselves more numerous and wealthy; but, they receive of the public money what we repudiate; increase their means of self-augmentation from our prudish folly; and from every succeeding generation of children will they swell their ranks, with thousands that would have, otherwise, increased ours. In obstinately refusing, therefore, to increase our means of education, we wilfully give others an advantage over us, of which they will not be slow to avail themselves; we inflict a fatal injury upon ourselves as a Denomination, which will not only prevent our increase, but gradually diminish our numbers; we, in short, to some extent, as a body, *commit an act of suicide!*

It may be said, with a vast deal of ignorance, or of non-chalance,—“Little does it matter, who may educate the poor children, so that they be educated.” The observation, I admit, has some force in it; but, it is utterly inconsistent with a love to what, we think, Scriptural truth; and not less so, with a becoming anxiety and zeal for the growing numbers and importance of our own Denomination. And the person, who sincerely makes it, attaches but small importance to his Congregational peculiarities; and would hardly make a sacrifice, in throwing them up. If it be true—and all parties seem to think so—that the school-room is a nursery for the sanctuary; it matters much to us, by whom our children may be taught; and we

should be willing to make great sacrifices to teach them ourselves. I have looked attentively into things, for many years; I clearly understand our present position; I see the bearing of the present on the future in our history; and this is my deliberate and candid opinion:—Provided our *present leaders* be upheld in their present insane, suicidal course; henceforth, Churchism and Methodism will go ahead, with accelerated speed, beyond all precedent, and Congregationalism will be left behind, to hold on its way as it can. We have not the means of keeping pace with them. Extra-efforts cannot be made to any great extent; nor be often repeated. Six or seven years ago, we subscribed a large sum—say £100,000—for purposes of education; but that sum, I infer, has been expended,—is all gone! As I have seen no report, I know not how so large an amount has been disposed of, in so short a time. Mr. Ainslie—the late Secretary—with his comfortable chambers, his salary of £300 a year, and all his travelling expenses paid—for several years—was probably the greatest gainer by that splendid subscription! Had the money been invested, as it was paid, at the rate of £4 per cent., we should have had a handsome nucleus of a still larger sum, from subscriptions, collections, or legacies, with a certain immediate income of £4,000 a year. And had we taken £33,000 from the Government, the one-third of our own £100,000, our nucleus fund would have been augmented to £133,000, and our annual revenue to £5,320. A fine sum this would have been to work with! But no,—other courses were taken,—opposite things were done: and, at this moment, the amount of our subscriptions is called in question,—our funds are exhausted,—our educational efforts are paralyzed,—and we are in as pitiable, or ridiculous, a position as we can be. To this, the sages of Blomfield Street have reduced us! The farce will soon be over—but not the results of it—an expensive and ruinous farce to us!

NINTH DIVISION.

Thoughts on the Insufficient Support of our Ministers.

It is an old doctrine, the doctrine of God himself, that they who serve at the altar should live by the altar ; and hence, he appointed a provision to be made for this purpose. Under the régime thus established, the Hebrew priests were well supported ; and if they possessed not wealth, they knew not want. Christianity received not—could not receive—a law from its Founder, to regulate either the nature or the amount of means, for the support of those, who were to minister in holy things in His Church ; and, therefore, that which was compulsory under the old religion, became voluntary under the new. Not that it was left to the option of the converts to the religion of Christ, whether they would support its ministers ; for the apostle writes, 1 Cor. ix. 13, 14, “The Lord hath ordained that they who preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel.” But, there was no positive rule laid down—neither by Christ nor his Apostles—as to the proportion each convert was to contribute, except that he was to communicate cheerfully, according to the ability God had given him. The obligation to do so was moral ; and the motive must be religious:—“Every man, according as he purposeth in his heart, not grudgingly, or of necessity.”

The first Christian Ministers, therefore, who served the Churches, themselves or others had collected, were sustained by those Churches. A reciprocation was thus observed, regulated by the necessities of the former and the abilities of the latter, for more than three hundred years. “If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great thing if we shall reap your carnal things ?” Justice and gratitude would suggest this, independent of any Divine law. And historical proofs are not wanting, that the more wealthy of the Christian Societies often assisted the less wealthy, to maintain this reciprocation with their ministers ; just as one branch of a good and kind family extends its aid to another branch, not equally blessed with the means of self-support. And thus things proceeded, so long as the Churches retained their unsophisticated, pristine character,—and the sweet simplicity and spirituality of their early youth.

But, in process of time, that which had been moral became

political; and that which had been voluntary became forced. After princes assumed the Christian name, and took the Christian religion under their protection, the Christian pastors had sufficient influence with those princes, to induce them to make a legal provision for themselves and families. And, as the Israelites had given the one tenth of the produce of Palestine to their priests, and the pagans had been wont to present the one tenth of the spoils, taken in war, to their gods—that is, to their priests—these examples were pleaded and adopted as precedents. Hence the institution of tithes, or a tenth part of the produce of land, for the support of Christian pastors. I will not pause, to discuss the right or the wrong of this new means of support; nor whether it has been for the advantage or the disadvantage of the Christian interest in the world; but, I will affirm, that no man—read in ecclesiastical history, and capable of an enlightened and an impartial judgment—can justly and honestly plead Divine authority for the change, nor a Divine right for tithes. Yet, an honourable and competent maintenance for the ministers of the Gospel, is, unquestionably, of Divine authority. And had we no precedent in the Old Testament, nor positive precepts in the New,—natural reason—common sense—would teach us, that an order of men, separating themselves from the occupations of the world, and excluding themselves from lucrative employments, for the benefit of the rest of mankind, have a right to be furnished with the conveniences and comforts of life at *their* expense, for whose benefit they forego the usual means of providing them.

Most ancient nations made provision for the sustenance of religion,—for establishing and upholding the altar, as well as the throne. The nations that embraced the Christian religion—as we have seen—did the same. The nations amongst whom the Reformation was consolidated did the same,—and still do it. We are not warranted in asserting—often done—that the course thus pursued, was *always* with the view of making the Church subservient to the State, and its pastors the tools of the civil authorities. Such an assertion would be too sweeping, and could not be successfully defended. In many instances, it might have been so—certainly was so;—but in others, it was done to call into existence institutions deemed necessary to the

welfare of the people—where otherwise, they could not have had a being,—to secure permanence to religious ordinances, where, without, they might have been discontinued,—and to place the ministers of the Gospel in a similar position—and for the same reason—to that in which George III. placed the judges of this country. As a Non-conformist, I may be allowed to express my dissent from all State-churches, as such; and yet, I can distinguish between a State-church and assistance from the State, in aid of religion: the former, I regard as a departure from the simplicity and purity of primitive example,—the latter, I view as charity to a benevolent corporation, to aid them in carrying out their beneficent intentions.

The Congregationalists of this country utterly repudiate all State provision, in every form, for the support of the ministers of religion. And not only will they not have the endowment of one Religious Community, but the endowment of none. They—or many of them—object as strongly to the endowment of all—as in France and Holland—as to the endowment of one—as in England and Scotland. Religion with them, to be Scriptural and pure, must have no State-connection, or political alliance; to be prosperous, it must be free,—and to be free, it must be voluntarily sustained. They will not permit the civil magistrate to interfere with the religion of the people in any form; nor will they allow him to aid others, out of the public purse, in sustaining theirs,—nor accept a farthing from his hands towards supporting their own. These are the sentiments of the majority, I presume, of our Denomination. Well, let it be conceded, that all this is perfectly right, which I do not dispute, still, they who entertain these views,—take this course,—and object to all State assistance for the ministers of religion,—are bound to show, that the voluntary principle supersedes all such provision, when fairly worked,—and that the support of their own ministers—reasonably sufficient, and precluding all just ground of complaint—is a proof of that fact. Neither contemptuously sneering at other means of ministerial sustentation, nor vainly boasting of our own, is allowable, unless this fact can be made to appear, generally, on inquiry.

After a careful observation of the working of the voluntary principle, in this respect,—after all the inquiries I have been

able to institute,—after all I have seen, heard, and known,—I am deliberately of opinion, that the majority of the Congregational pastors of this country are insufficiently supported by their flocks; that very many of them are not half sustained as they ought to be; and, that not a few of them are in circumstances of deep poverty and want. This may arise from the meanness of the people they serve, or from the want of better management, or from the misapplication of their resources, or from their absolute indigence. Many Congregations are mean. They have property without liberality;—they have no becoming sympathy and generous impulse towards their pastors,—they do not devise liberal things,—they want the *spirit* of their religion. How many hundreds of wealthy dissenting families are there, who give less towards the support of their pastors, than they pay to their doctors, or their gardeners, or their cooks, or even their scullions! But, there is often want of management. The support of our Ministers, not less than the peace and prosperity of our Churches, depends much upon the *deacons*. If they are men of narrow minds and low ideas,—if they neither set an example of liberality themselves, nor urge liberality upon others,—if they fail to do their duty,—the probability is, the pastors will suffer. Unsuitable men often fill this office—from one cause or another—and what can be expected from them but unsuitable conduct? Sometimes, they cunningly waive all mention of the amount of salary to their Ministers, at first, that they might afterwards be at liberty to give or to withhold what they please; or they chaffer for the stipend they are to give them,—and the better for themselves they drive the bargain, the more satisfied they are with the results;—as if, the less they gave for the prayers and sermons, the greater their edification! or, afterwards,—if the Ministers do not please them or other fickle hearers,—when the novelty of their ministrations has died away,—or when any misunderstandings have arisen,—they employ their office to harass and starve their Ministers out. There is, too, a misapplication of the resources of our Congregations. It often happens, that it is thought a duty to raise a large sum annually for some charitable institutions,—and auxiliary Societies are formed, and young people are set to work,—and the very people who endow their pastors with the starving stipend of

£60 or £70 a year, will forward £20 or £30 to a Missionary Institution. This is nothing short of absolute and cruel robbery. And the poor men, thus robbed, must not utter a whimper of complaint! If they do so, they are charged with selfishness, or with indifference to the spread of the Gospel, or with being behind their age! But, I am compelled, in justice, to admit, that the indigence of the people whom they serve is more commonly the cause of the ill-support of our pastors. Many Congregations, in country towns, or rural districts, are small and poor,—all the property amongst them is in the hands of one or two families, who contribute freely, but at best insufficiently, to sustain the Minister. And what with pressing claims for domestic purposes, they cannot do more,—and perhaps, ought not to be expected to do more. Well, the consequence is, that, without other means of sustentation, disqualifying destitution and distress befall worthy and able men, who deserve better things. I never could sympathise with the base and false maxim, which I have ere now heard, that “*the poorer parsons are, the better they pray and preach!*”

The State-provision for the clergy of the Established Church, is allowed to be more than sufficient for their support; but the unequal distribution of that provision is cause of just scandal and bitter complaint. Some of the clergy have more thousands a year than others have scores; some are over-fed, and others are half-starved; some leave vast fortunes to their families; and the families of others are left in deep poverty. And what is still more grievous, the disadvantage is with the most deserving; they who do the most work, in thousands of instances, receive the least pay,—and pay utterly inadequate to their support. Anti-State-Church writers and lecturers often seize on these inequalities as an argument against the “Establishment.” Look, it is said, at the rich Bishops with their many thousands a year, and many rectors and vicars with starving stipends! Or, look at the rectors and vicars, with their several lucrative livings, and their poor fags, the curates, without preferment at all, and subsisting on the merest pittance. All this is undoubtedly wrong, and cries loudly for reform. But let us—to be just—cast a glance at our own side of the way, and see how the voluntary principle works, in this respect.

But, alas ! amongst ourselves, too, there are offensive and painful irregularities of this kind,—irregularities which give some of our pastors wealth and luxury, and others penury and want,—which present the difference of a few pounds compared with a thousand a year ! The salaries of the Wesleyan Ministers are adjusted by a common ratio ; the same rule obtains, I believe, in the Free Church of Scotland ; but, with us, there is no such ratio nor rule. Nor is this wide disparity of incomes always the result of disparity of piety, ability, learning, and labour ; for, there are many instances, in which men holding very poor pastorates are superior, in all these respects, to men holding exceedingly rich pastorates. There is patronage with us, as well as in the Establishment. I have known many Ministers as completely pitchforked into “ good situations,” as they are called, as ever clergymen were arbitrarily appointed to “ livings,”—and Ministers, without superior personal desert of any kind : done, not, indeed, always openly and daringly, but covertly and sneakingly, by sinister influence and cunning artifice. But, it is not uncommon, at the death or removal of a former Minister, for the great man—the chief subscriber, who sits in the green pew in the corner—not, perhaps, a member of the Church himself—to intimate to that body, his sovereign will and pleasure, as to a successor. A friend of his has recommended Mr. So-and-so : and unless he be chosen, the usual subscription will be diminished or withheld. And this intimation has the force of law ; fit, or unfit, the nominee must be elected ;—willing or unwilling, the Church must submit. Our pastors are sometimes dismissed by the same means, against the will of the majority of their flocks,—the threat of some wealthy Diotrephes. And thus, in both cases, the principle of Congregationalism is thoroughly merged. And, then, the ambitious, blustering, servile, ministers are more likely to work themselves into notice, and worm themselves into office,—than men of modest, quiet, independent minds. As in other things, so here, the lightest articles rise first to the top,—or the gilded wares are preferred to the intrinsically valuable !

But, if evils of this kind cannot be wholly avoided, and if some of our pastors must receive more remuneration for their labours than others ; is there no means of mitigating the present

scandalous and cruel inequalities between their salaries ; and, if some ought not to receive less, should not others receive more ? What think you of domestics in the same service, all doing the same work, and equally well and satisfactorily,—and yet, some are paid wages of many hundreds a year, while others do not receive half as many scores ? Or, what think you of officers in our army, of the same rank, all alike faithful, and true to the Sovereign, and diligent in their duties,—and yet, some receive twenty times the pay of others ? Or, what think you of brethren—some of whom having vastly more than they really need, for all necessary purposes—who refuse to others of excellent character, and in little better than starving circumstances, the aid they need to supply their necessities ? Why, if there were no law to redress this outrageous grievance,—surely, a sense of honour, justice, kindness, should do it. Now, there is all this difference between the stipends of our pastors,—and, consequently, in their means of sustentation ; and, notwithstanding, there is no more sympathy in our wealthy Churches towards their poor sister Churches,—nor in our amply-provided pastors towards their ill-provided and necessitous brethren,—than if they were not of the same order, or the latter did not stand in need of aid from the former. Many of these rich Churches and their pastors are proud and boastful of their superior pecuniary means, and wish to make a laudable figure upon the annual subscription list of certain benevolent societies, for remote objects of distress ; but the poor Churches and needy pastors of their immediate neighbourhood, or distant parts of their county, or in other counties of the kingdom, awaken but few of their benevolent feelings, and call forth but faintly their benevolent efforts,—if, indeed, they feel and express practically *any* interest in them. These things ought not to be so ! If foreign claims press upon you,—domestic claims are paramount, and should receive your immediate attention and support. The fountains of your charity should water your own pastures first ; and, after that, send forth their streams to replenish distant deserts.

There are hundreds of pious and able ministers of our Body, who have little in their Cup—hope excepted—but the dregs of poverty ; while an equal number of their brethren, without

remarkable pre-eminence in personal or official excellence, hold a Cup running over with every confluence of earthly good : the humble abodes and mean furniture of the former tell of penury and want,—while the lordly mansions and gorgeous furniture of the latter speak not only the length of their purses, but the vanity of their minds : the closets of the one class possess hardly a sufficiency of the meanest food, while the larders of the other class are loaded with the richest viands : the appearance of that party is that of men who have hardly a change of raiment,—while this party move about with mimic airs, in dress and manners of an aristocracy, whom they profess to hate, and yet attempt to imitate : the pallid and wrinkled countenances of the poor pastors indicate deep and anxious care, if not want ; while the countenances of their wealthy brethren present a joyous and happy freedom from all corroding anxieties, from all privation and want. What are these indigent ministers to do, to better their circumstances, and relieve their minds ? To dig, they are not able ; to beg, they are ashamed. Nothing can induce them to continue amongst us, or incline their sons to adopt the same calling as their sires,—but the love of their principles,—a wish to perpetuate an interest dear to their hearts,—the triumph of hope over experience.

Our ancestors—ever wise and kind—not only supported their societies and ministers with a noble liberality, while they lived ; but were careful, to make provision for their sustentation, after their own decease. They comprehended the fact,—that the possession of property is the best guarantee for permanency in all practical institutions ; and that the difference between those which have it, and those which have it not, is that of a house which stands upon a rock, and another which stands upon sand. Endowments, with them frequent and popular, have become, of late, rare and distasteful. It is almost treason to mention them now, except for censure. Certain sapient gentlemen—editors and secretaries—have started up amongst us, and raised a “ hue and cry ” against all such helps for weakness,—against all such additional provision for the support of Chapels and pastors. Although, by the bye, it is most offensive to people of discernment, who cannot be hoodwinked, to hear this hooting of endowments, from ministers who enjoy some of the

richest amongst us. They would rather, forsooth, have us live from hand to mouth, than possess anything on which to fall back in an emergency ! They would have us take no thought for the morrow, even in the best sense, lest we should become distrustful of Providence ! They would not permit us to provide for a rainy day, as if no such day were possible in our history ! Endowments, say they, may be abused ! And what good things may not meet with the same treatment in the hands of bad men ? Is the abuse of a thing an argument against its value ? Endowments have occasioned the introduction of error into some places of worship ! But, how many have they preserved from extinction ? Endowments render the pastors independent of the people ! But, what truly godly men will take advantage of such independence ? And does not private property do the same thing ? It is remarkable, that Churches seldom fear, or suffer from, such property in their pastors. Endowments soil the fingers of all who touch them ! And yet, they enable many to pay their debts with clean hands ! Endowments are nuisances ! But, are not the very Chapels occupied by these “ hue and cry ” men, endowments from a past generation ? Endowments are an “ opium-bolus,” and engender a sleeping disease. But, are the Churches and pastors amongst us who possess them, less wakeful and active than those who have none ? Endowments should be discouraged ! And yet, I never knew a Church, or a minister, in the possession of one, who abused his own, or wished to part company with it. The voluntary principle is all in all with these anti-endowment worthies ; as if its healthy working were impossible, where there is “ a little in hand,” in the shape of a parsonage house, a few acres of land, or two or three hundreds in the public funds. The voluntary principle is exclusive with them—they would have nothing else—as if endowments were not the fruit of this very principle. The voluntary principle is omnipotent with them,—it can effect everything,—meet all demands ; and yet, we have seen above, that its effectiveness depends upon circumstances, and often fails to meet most urgent demands. The fact is, these endowment-hating gentry have a motive for their feigned hatred,—they have a personal interest in the success of their clamour,—they would rather have money in *hand* than in *hope*,—they like cash *down*,—they like to *touch*

the “*needful!*” I understand them, and so may you! I am not in despair, however, because endowments have become unfashionable for the present; the world is rotatory,—and so are the opinions and tastes of men: endowments will be in fashion again, before many years! All attempts at deluding people, fail eventually.

There are in London, and in the provinces, several valuable Societies, for the relief of poor and aged pastors of our Denomination; and these are—so far—valuable; but are always uncertain sources of supply,—and, at best, miserably insufficient to banish poverty and want from our ministerial ranks. What are they amongst so many necessitous applicants? And scores, equally necessitous, never apply. They do not like to make their poverty and sufferings known; or, they do not wish to have their circumstances canvassed and, probably, reported;—or, their self-esteem does not permit them to appeal, “*in formâ pauperis*,” to their lordly brethren;—or, they believe application would be abortive; or, they think the pittance doled out to them would be of small amount; or, they hope, better times are in reserve for them; or, they may be content to suffer, in imitation of Him who had not where to lay his head, and sustained by the hope of a blessed inheritance in heaven.

But, there is one small source of supply open to them, and to draw upon which, no painful disclosure is necessary,—no canvassing of circumstances is to be feared,—no self-esteem is sacrificed,—no application can fail of success,—nor mean pittance will be dealt out, if funds are not wanting; and, even then, they will be treated with respect, and cheered with sympathy. And, if our boasted voluntary principle must render us beggars, it is some relief to receive *Royal charity*; and that charity from the hands of Christian gentlemen,—and gentlemen, who may augment their means of aiding us, from their own private resources. Obligation, to some men, is accompanied by a painful sense of personal degradation: but no such painful feeling can steal into the bosom of the worthy men, who receive the gratuity thus bestowed. To receive Royal alms, through such almoners, removes much of its humiliation. I do not despise other eleemosynary means of support, for our suffering pastors and ministers; but, I prefer this to all others, as pos-

sessing higher associations, and imposing fewer and lighter obligations. This *Regium Donum* is denounced as a "bribe," "an endowment," a "parliamentary grant," "public money for the support of religion." All this is mere moonshine,—a clamour raised for party purposes;—a fertile theme of declamation to furnish "articles" for newspapers, and popularity for their editors;—a prejudiced and partial representation, which merges the *charitable* character of the gift, and the *benevolence* of the giver. The only rational objection I have ever heard to this Royal bounty, is the smallness of the amount of it. I wish, indeed, it were fifty times as much as it is;—but starving men are thankful for any relief, which they can conscientiously and honourably receive.*

Now, of this Royal gift—small as it is—the Congregational Unionists would deprive us. They would have the Government withhold it,—or the Distributers cease to receive it,—or, our poor Ministers refuse to partake of it. Wise, considerate, benevolent men these! Surely, they enjoy a monopoly of these excellences, as well as of other good things! Wisdom, consideration, benevolence will quit the world with them! They have brought us back the golden age of things; but—once they have departed—the iron age will return upon us with all its oppressions and horrors! Dr. Campbell is their puppet; and as they pull the string, he dances. We know what sweet and lovely passions agitate him, and conduct his drama! He has been peculiarly eloquent of late, on the subject of this Royal charity. Her Majesty's Ministers, and the House of Commons, as well as the Distributers and Receivers of this money, have shared his compliments and courtesies. This gentleman's chief argument is, "Perish the *Regium Donum*!" Fine specimen this, of dispassionate and conclusive reasoning! How convincing! Where in the world did he study logic? We know whence his Rhetoric comes! He has condescended to inform us, that his advocacy of Louis Philippe and his late Minister, Guizot, cost him the loss of the sale of a thousand copies, per week, of his "Banner;" but, he has not told us yet—although he may, ere long—what has been the diminished

* See Dr. Pye Smith's recent "Vindication" of the *Regium Donum*. Surely, this great and good gentleman has said enough to satisfy all persons, who can comprehend the difference between the right and the wrong of a question!

sale of the same precious Journal, by his brotherly abuse of the Trustees and the Recipients of the Regium Donum. Certain things pour out from this editor like a torrent,—but, others ooze out from him, and concerning him, by little and little. Depend upon it, we have not yet heard all. He will stand and unfold, by and by ;—and then, the wondering world will utter a long and a loud *huzza* at the approaching termination of his labours !

The last Annual Meeting of the Congregational Union, May 8th, in Crosby Hall, London, was a kind of capping affair. Congregationalism was never so abased. Many who read the report of it must have kindled with indignation. If the spirits of the departed Fathers of our Denomination were present, or cognizant of the proceedings—a thing not incredible—how must they have grieved, or blushed, at the conduct of their degenerate descendants ! Do these men inherit the noble temper and high bearing of their forefathers, who were, withal, unassuming, calm, and dignified ;—who watched, with a sleepless eye, every approach to an infringement of their Independency ; who partook of the gravity of their subjects, whenever they touched on themes of grave import ; who delivered their profound, practical wisdom, in sententious speeches,—and breathed a fervent charity towards all that were with them in heart, although differing in other respects ? Are these the men who are to have our esteem and confidence as “ leaders ; ”—to whose judgment we are to submit ourselves and our interests ; and whose example we are to follow, in temper, language, and action ? Why, that meeting was manifestly so indiscreet, as to be discreditable ! The assembly consisted of about two hundreds, or more, of our Ministers, out of about two thousands,—a large proportion of whom were “ *Metropolitans*.” Some purposely withheld themselves from the meeting ; and others just appeared, and withdrew. And this handful of men—many brought together for the nonce—composed the august assembly appropriating to itself the proud designation of “ Congregational Union of England and Wales ! ” What a vast concourse ! What a magnificent spectacle ! What a threatening demonstration ! I could wish—did time and space permit—to pass from generals to particulars, and examine critically the *dramatis personæ* in the exhibition, with their performances ! There is much in both

to amuse, instruct, and warn! Some actors excel in tragedy, some in comedy, and some in farce; but these performers played all, and excelled in all. What exquisite "Artistes!"

The gathering was of *course*;—but the object of it was manifold. There was Secretary Wells, with his long Report of wonderful achievements, and precious promises of achievements! We have had many specimens of this gentleman's abilities for such manufactures. He is always pathetic, if not pithy; always gives us enough for our patience, if not for our taste; always produces rich schemes, if these schemes are not rich in results. May they not cost us, by and by, vastly more than his salary, however large that may be? And there was Dr. Burder, fraught with congratulations and felicitations! Happy Union!—exciting no fears, revealing no differences, exhibiting only "brethren dwelling together in unity!" Were Dr. Reed and Company, of the "Independent Board," present? Consistent Ministers, who, amidst all modern changes of doctrinal opinions, had remained unchanged! Has the good gentleman been awake of late? Does he know the doctrinal sentiments of many of our more recent ministers? Has he ever read Dr. Wardlaw on the Atonement, and Dr. Jenkyn on the Spirit? I wonder, how many ministers, *then* present, accord *precisely* with the doctrinal opinions of their predecessors of long ago! But our Year Book, useful and cheap! So it is,—and besides, full of leaden-matters and statistic blunders, which we hope will be omitted and corrected. But, this old *College-tutor* recommends *lay-preaching*; and assures us, that lay-preachers are often superior to our regularly trained ministers! Gentlemen, why expend another shilling on Theological Colleges? And there was Mr. Stratten, who had been to Scotland—expenses paid I presume—as a representative of this Union, to the Scotch Union of Congregationalists! No doubt, he had paid a visit to the Scotch Lochs, taking the English Lakes in his way! He had found the people beyond the Tweed, "*thoughtful, pious, deserving.*" What a discovery! Surely this gentleman is gifted with second sight! And he communicated—with or without authority—that when the Union *here* could do without Dr. Campbell, the Union *there* would be glad to have him back again. What a pity they ever parted with him! May his return be speedy. We should hope for it in vain! What! leave the sunny South

for the bleak North, and his Arcadian Endowment—the Tabernacle-house—and £900 a year, for “cauld Dundee?” No, no. And there was Mr. Sherman, a very “*pliable*” gentleman. He likened Dr. Campbell to the painted Champion of England, on the walls of Crosby Hall,—to fight all comers! What a comparison for a minister of the meek and lowly Jesus, “who, when he was reviled, reviled not again; and when he suffered, threatened not!” Here, more than *peeps out*, the fighting spirit of the corps! Dr. Campbell, henceforth, must be regarded as the mighty *Thor*, the *Thunder-God* of the Congregationalists. Mr. Sherman rejoiced, that “the matter of Assurance had been taken up.” Is he a share-holder in the Dissenters’ Assurance Company, *as he has been*—if I am not mis-informed—in *other Companies*? But the climax of this gentleman’s absurdities and extravagances was the assertion, that Dr. Campbell is one of the most disinterested men alive! Does Mr. Sherman know *all* the laborious, philanthropic, religious functionaries in the world, that he could give this functionary the pre-eminence over all? What! a monopolist of four offices and four salaries, the most disinterested man alive! What next? And there was Dr. Halley,* who was exceedingly emphatic; and, better than all, exceedingly brief! This gentleman agreed with the former, that the painted Champion on the wall was the portrait—the *vera effigies*—of the living Champion on the platform, but, with this difference; the painted Champion is represented as looking back, whereas, if the living Champion ever looks back, it is not to Scotland—*as well lose sight for ever of that country, with all its reminiscences and associations!*—but, upon his enemies, whom he left behind, routed, confounded, &c. Really, one might think, this *gentle creature*, Dr. Campbell, had been innocently assaulted by all the world; and, that he had blown upon his assailants, and extinguished them by a breath, like another Gulliver annihilating so many Lilliputians! I know not whom he had “corrected,”—I know only whom he had abused: nor by whom he had been “misrepresented, slandered and maligned;” but only those whom he had thus treated. If he is more than a

* Note on the above. I beg the gentlemen’s pardon for making use of their names; the mention of them could not be dispensed with. They were published in the news papers.

match for all his foes, why did Dr. Halley and others run to the rescue, and shield him with their resolutions and speeches? And there was this very Dr. Campbell himself, with "his honours blushing thick upon him!" When he speaks, he never realizes the poetic fiction of a mountain in labour, to bring forth a mouse! Be assured, he has always much to say; and he says strange things! On this occasion, like other *employés*, he thanks his employers, and prays a continuance of their favours; but, his speech, altogether, has too many singular points to be unworthy of notice here. It is replete with curiosities, after his own style; and is one continuous laudation of himself! His editorial 'labours must cease!' Pity they ever began! their cessation will give much pleasure to many. His "experience as pastor was brought to bear upon his duties as editor!" What connection can there be, between visiting a sick bed and superintending the newspaper press? "While the magazines were in his hands, they should contain nothing from Germany!" Does this arise merely from his dislike or apprehension of German Neology?—does that splendid country produce nothing else? Is Germany another Nazareth, from which nothing good can come? Oh! no; *there is another reason, not assigned!* What does he know of the German language and literature? He declared "everlasting war with Churchism all the world over!" Churchism cares not one straw for his opposition. He is helping to prop it up, every week! During the past year, "he had not received one letter of complaint!" What! had he made no apologies, during the year, to aggrieved brethren?—none to offended missionaries? Did he make apologies without complaints? Did not Mr. Clayton complain? Did not Dr. Pye Smith complain? Did not I send him a long letter of grave complaints? What complaints would he have? There was a disposition to keep the peace with him! Why, three-fourths of the kingdom—and even of his own Denomination—are daily making war upon him, in one way or other! He cautioned his brethren against "troubling their heads with things anonymous,—letters and pamphlets!" He meant to say, "*Eschew Junius Secundus!*—don't read anything, however true, that attacks me!" A pretty "Champion" this! Why, he has the boast of a *hero* and the heart of a *fawn*!

At that Meeting were grave Ministers of Religion, who passed a vote of confidence in themselves! This was a part of the first Resolution,—and they were all Unionists:—"that the assembly declares its confirmed confidence in this Union;" that is, in the persons who compose it,—for the Union is not an abstraction, apart from the Secretaries and Members,—*they are the Union*. In that convention were men, who tendered most cordial thanks to the Editor of the Christian Witness, for his year's services, although they knew, that during the whole of that period, he had been abusing some religious party or person; and had lampooned some of the ablest, best, and most munificent friends of their own Denomination,—had held them up to scorn and contempt! And in that Hall, and joining in both the above Resolutions, were men, who during the previous year and years—had uttered, in *private*, severer censures upon this meritorious Editor, than ever appeared in the writings of Junius Secundus! Yes, these Christian Ministers could play the mythological Proteus! I blush for their consistency and honour! But the money obtained during the year! Ah! this was the charm! this it was that covered the multitude of sins! How, and by what means, was the amount really made up? I hope, there had been no "cooking of the accounts?" By this money, the slavery of our community is sought to be effected; and if the chief men of this Union can win over the majority of the more respectable Ministers into an accord with themselves; the poorer brethren must succumb, or they will receive no pence! But thanks! there is a contingency resting on this Union fund:—the streams which supply it may not always flow so copiously!

I will conclude with a practical suggestion, of some importance, which will not fail, if adopted, to secure for all our destitute and suffering pastors and ministers, a moderate sufficiency for their support. I propose, that no accredited man of them shall receive less than £100 or £120 per annum, including their present incomes; and receive it as a matter of right, not of charity. The means I recommend, for obtaining an adequate sum for supplying present deficiencies below this figure, are the following:—Let an annal collection be made—and it may be

made—in every Congregational Chapel in the Kingdom, on a certain Lord's-day, in each year; and let our more wealthy pastors and ministers,—whether their incomes be derived from private property, or official salaries, or both—contribute so much per cent. a year, in addition, from their ample means; and the collections and subscriptions, thus realized, will meet every equitable demand. Now, Mr. Wells is in the receipt of seven or eight hundreds a year;—what will he contribute? Dr. Burder is in the receipt of twelve or fourteen hundreds a year;—what will he contribute? Mr. Stratton is in the receipt of four or five hundreds a year;—what will he contribute? Mr. Sherman is in the receipt of seven or eight hundreds a year;—what will he contribute?—Dr. Halley is in the receipt of six or seven hundreds a year;—what will he contribute?—Dr. Campbell is in the receipt of nearly a thousand a year;—what will he contribute? Mr. Tidman is in the receipt of seven or eight hundreds a year;—what will he contribute? The same may be stated and asked, concerning some hundreds more in London and in the provinces. Now, suppose we adopt a graduated scale of contribution; and each minister give two per cent. upon every hundred he receives, above £150 a year; what a large sum should we have at our disposal, with the forementioned collections, and other funds now existing, to feed and clothe, and raise into ease and comfort, hundreds of poor ministers, with their suffering families? This would be but a small sacrifice to make, to relieve so much want, and impart so much happiness! And the men who shall take the first steps, in carrying such a scheme into effect, will do immortal honour to themselves, and receive the blessing of thousands.

I am,

Respected Brethren,

Your humble Servant,

JUNIUS SECUNDUS.

TO THE CONGREGATIONAL DISSENTERS
OF ENGLAND AND WALES.

October, 1849.

POSTSCRIPT.



MY respected Correspondents will have perceived, that I have not availed myself of their able communications: I hope to do so *hereafter*. I may probably, if spared, and *occasion* require it, attempt a General Estimate of Dr. Campbell's periodical publications, since the commencement of his editorships. I shall be obliged, if my friends will assist me *here*. There is one thing, in particular, I am anxious to make plain, in connexion with Dr. Campbell. He says, he received but *fifty shillings* for destroying the Bible Monopoly:—I wish to shew the part he performed, in that destruction; and, in doing so, I will prove,—*that fifty shillings were an ample reward for his services!*

I beg to inform my hostile “reviewers,” that I have a “rod in pickle” for some of them. A certain Wesleyan newspaper—not the “Watchman”—has attacked me roughly. The animadversions and censures were, of course, *anonymous!* The editor however is accountable; and *he will have his reward!* Does not Dr. Campbell write “*articles*,” occasionally, for that paper? Did he not write the article in question, or procure it to be written? What admirable *purity*, a part of our Dissenting press exhibits! How *independent, impartial, and just* is it!

Doctor Vaughan I respect, as a man of some genius; but I wish, he had kept aloof from this controversy. He is editor of that able periodical, the “British Quarterly,” and the *brother-in-law of Mr. Tidman*. He has published in that work, a Notice of my Letter to Dr. Campbell,—than which, nothing more *partial* and *unjust* could be written. I am obliged to him for his *concessions*; and I will, by and by, answer his *charges*. His object, in his strictures, is too apparent to be mistaken,—it was to rescue his *relative* from blame. I wished not to blame him unnecessarily and unjustly. My information, obtained from more quarters than one, fully justified my remarks. *More of this anon.*

I had fancied, till within a few days, that the Editor of the Evangelical Magazine had prudently withheld himself from being a party in this Controversy. I now admit and regret my mistake. And, indeed, had I not suffered to escape from my memory, his conduct in the late disputes between Dr. Reed and the Directors of the London Missionary Society, I should not have been so deceived. This gentleman is, at times, vehement and fond of meddling. He has not been personally assailed by me:—why, therefore, his warmth and interference? I am really unwilling to go a-tilting, or to break a lance, with him,—as I am sure, in that case, he would be wounded and unhorsed. But, he had better mind what he is about, or, on my next issue, he may not be *quite* forgotten. Since, he has not published one word in defence of his old *friend*, the Rev. John Clayton,—nor one syllable on behalf of the poor missionaries, whom Dr. Massie, by his late famous Circular, placed on an “*inquisitorial gridiron*,”—I advise him—if I may do so—to fall back upon neutral ground. Some two months ago, he forbade the publishers of his periodical, to insert, any more, advertisements from Junius Secundus. And I perceive, in the last number of his Magazine, a philippic against *anonymous writers*,—which, I doubt not, under cover of conveying his ideas of other parties, was intended to “box my ears.” Is he not a pluralist, with many hundreds a year? Has he not a personal interest in “courting the smile” of certain parties implicated in this Controversy? Has he not a *son-in-law* a missionary of the London Society, at Hong-Kong? What under currents influence men! If I hear of this gentleman’s further gratuitous interference against me and my friends, the world shall know, that *had there been no John Morison, there might have been no Junius Secundus. Let him ponder what this means!*

J. S.

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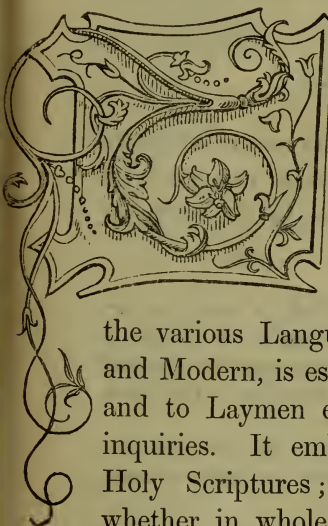
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